

# The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—*Humboldt's Cosmos.*

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## News of the Week.

THROUGHOUT the week the Ministerial party has been agitated by the fear of its own dissolution; for that has really been in question, although the public did not concern itself much about the matter. The Ministers have effectually used up the Protectionist party, which must cease when they cease. The Budget, with which Mr. Disraeli was to astonish the world, and to reconcile town and country, has caused nothing but displeasure by its innovations; and the conduct of Government in the debate has exhibited an absence of self-reliance which lowered it more and more in general estimation. Just before the recent debate on Free-trade, Lord Derby declared that he should stand or fall by the financial policy of Mr. Disraeli; early in the present debate, Mr. Disraeli announced that he should stand by the Budget as a whole, reserving to himself the right of accepting modifications in detail; later in the discussion, he agreed with the leaders of the Opposition to take only one vote before Christmas, technically on the commencement of the resolutions, but virtually on "the vital principle" of the Budget, which he described as being the extension of indirect taxes in lieu of taxes on consumption; but last night he again shifted his ground, saying that Members who voted for Government would only vote "materials for a bill," without reference to the details. The distinction was practically this: At first Lord Derby said—Accept our financial policy, or we resign; secondly, Mr. Disraeli said—Accept our policy as a whole, with amendments, if you like; thirdly, he said—Sanction the vital principle of our measure, and in committee apply it how you like; fourthly, he abandoned the issue on principle, and entreated merely for leave to bring in a bill, with an intimation that the Opposition itself might frame the bill in committee.

In the course of the debate, two grand facts came out, fatal in their character. The first fact was, that the Budget was worthless or mischievous in all that distinguished it from any annual Budget of any Chancellor of the Exchequer. Minor points, such as the remission of the Light-duties, were recognised as meritorious, but obvious and ripe concessions to justice. The chief exception to censure was the remission of Tea-duties, which might also have been in any Budget. But the distinctive features of the present Budget, the re-

mission of half the Malt-tax and half the Hop-tax, the doubling and extension of the House-duty, the extension and peculiar alteration of the Income-tax, and the appropriation of the Loan Fund as annual revenue, underwent a damaging exposure at the hands of successive speakers. Mr. Gladstone, Sir Charles Wood, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Lowe, Sir James Graham, and many others, brought proof after proof that the remission of the Malt-duty would benefit nobody but the brewers; that half the Hop-duty would be a ridiculous object for retaining a system of assessment peculiarly silly and mischievous; that the extension of the House-tax and Income-tax would create hardships for very numerous classes of the people,—a gratuitous infliction, since it was rendered necessary only by the deficiency wantonly created in the Malt-tax; and finally, that in appropriating a Loan-fund as revenue, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had violated the commonest principles of public credit. It was not once in any single masterly speech that these facts were made out, or the effect would have been less, for logic has no peremptory hold over the public mind. But the facts were brought home to men's bosoms and businesses by the representatives of their own class.

Out of doors, the apathetic public was gradually rousing itself to look after its threatened pocket. It is said of the Englishman, that of all his viscera, the pocket is the most sensitive; and that the Englishman should be slow to resent the imposition of new taxes, shows the degree of lethargy to which we have attained: especially when there was no occasion for the new taxes. The fact is, that the mere name of remission is so popular, that the ungarded public was at first inclined to give Mr. Disraeli credit for having done something to cheapen beer. But the discussion has effectually corrected that fallacy. The public at last admitted to itself, that if Mr. Disraeli were suffered to go on, we should be called upon to pay twice our House-duty, and more of us would be called upon to pay House and Income-duty, without the slightest necessity or the slightest return. At last the public began to move, not very hurriedly, it must be confessed, but enough to show honourable Members that they would be expected to resume the almost forgotten duty of guarding the public purse. The metropolitan districts, Liverpool, Manchester, and many country places in England and Scotland: Dublin, too, and Ireland generally, pronounced, or prepared to do so. Within Parliament, the demeanour of the

Opposition became more resolute. To independent Members, who had given way to a morbid squeamishness which they took for "impartiality" or "candour," the expression of public opinion acted as a tonic, and the Minister's blandishments lost their effect.

Mr. Disraeli's position was additionally weakened by the other disclosure of the debate,—less certain, but not less important than the worthlessness of his Budget,—that his colleagues were not really with him. Evidently they had put him up as a clever fellow, on the strength of his own assurances that he could bring them off with credit; but their manner betrayed more than an ordinary "split" in the Cabinet. In spite of studied assurances from the more courteous and humane, it was evident that his important colleagues neither trusted him, nor respected him, nor desired to stand by him if he should fall. The effect on disinterested observers was twofold; Mr. Disraeli's prestige was seriously damaged; but towards more aristocratic statesmen, who could use an instrument which they despised, and which they were preparing to disclaim even while they used it, the feeling excited was that of hearty contempt.

The most mortal coil must be shuffled off at last; and the fox of Protectionist Free-trade was brought to the end of his doublings on Thursday night. He made one of his most masterly speeches, in which, through all its polished finish, the inward bitterness burst forth with volcanic fire, in the fierce avowal that he was not a "born Chancellor of the Exchequer," but "one of the Parliamentary rabble." His speech was powerful; but Mr. Gladstone followed; and in the division, Ministers were beaten by a majority of 19.

Mr. Walpole had sustained one of his disasters. On the Wednesday of last week he assented to the suggestion of Mr. Serjeant Shee, that Mr. Sharnan Crawford's bill of Tenant Right should be sent to the Select Committee on the Government bills; but this week Ministers repudiate the arrangement. The occurrence is scarcely worth note, excepting in so far as it exposed the indiscipline in the Cabinet, and the very slight disposition amongst Ministers to show a respectful attention to the real representatives of Ireland.

The report of the committee on the Derby election cast its damaging shadow on Ministers; not diminished by Major Beresford's revival of his vulgarly idle asseveration that it is all a "vile conspiracy." He, a Minister, is virtually convicted!

[TOWN EDITION.]

The aggressive preparations of France continue to expand, and the only question is, where they shall first take effect. The Rhine is the point popularly looked to. Napoleon is devoting his attention to the formation of an enormous army, and is unscrupulous in finding the means. Our correspondent's assurance, given months ago, that state lotteries are to be revived, will soon be verified, and the shocking traffic in demoralization will aid in swelling the treasury. To the military developments Louis Napoleon attends personally. A new invention of his own will render the artillery uniform in calibre and very powerful. By a new plan of recruitment, the whole of the adult male population of France will be rendered available as an army 3,760,000 strong. No man makes engines on such a scale without a proportionate purpose.

Before this fact the other foreign news appears insignificant. Pleased with the submission of Belgium, Napoleon graciously re-grants the commercial treaty, and in her coils, restored to favour, Belgium may conceal her tears for the loss of independence.

Spain pauses in her *coup-d'état*. The Royal household is not quite strong enough to seize absolute power; and Spain is not civilized enough to be concentrated for seizure in a single night.

In more distant lands, the news is like a repetition of old reports. In the United States they aver that the Japan expedition is to set out; and hence infer that Cuba will occasion no pretext for difficulties.

At the Cape, more war, with no prospect of an end. On the Rangoon, more war, pedantic old General Godwin taking it coolly. It is evident that both wars will outlast our floods at home.

In California and Australia, gold working continues to make progress; the produce of Australia within the current year probably exceeding 10,000,000*l.* sterling; and most of it passing first through the hands of working men! Think of that, men struggling for sixpence a-day more, to dig up black coal from the darksome pit!

## THE PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

### FINANCIAL DEBATE—DEFEAT OF THE MINISTRY.

AFTER four nights' debate of the Budget, Ministers have been defeated by a narrow majority of 19, in a House of 595 members.

The debate was resumed by Mr. DAVISON, who, "as member for Belfast," approved of it.

Mr. COBDEN, in prefacing an extended exposition of some of his views on taxation, observed that the question (the House-tax) did not touch the constituents of the member for Belfast; it touched the taxation of the people of England, who though subjected to Belfast competition, were burdened with a tax from which their competitors were free. Mr. Cobden then approached the general question, giving a telling description of the incidence of the House-tax.

"I say, on the part of Free-traders, that we do not object to direct taxation when it is shown to us that it is levied equally on all descriptions of property; and when it is shown that a direct tax is one which is beneficial to all the interests of the country. But we do not recognise the grievances of gentlemen opposite, or any claim arising out of Free-trade which entitles them to come and levy a tax on property in the towns in order to relieve property in the country from taxation—(cheers)—for that would be a one-sided, partial, and unjust system, and just the kind of system which we have been struggling for the last fourteen years to get rid of by the repeal of the Corn-laws. (Hear, hear.) That would be adopting the odious principle of compensation. (Hear, hear.) We deny that gentlemen opposite have suffered any loss which entitles them to come to this House and ask for exemption from any tax that other persons pay. The proposal now made with regard to the House-tax is most unjust. What do you propose? You impose a Property-tax of three per cent. on all land and on all houses. You next go to Schedule A. You lay on an additional House-tax of ninepence in the pound, making the tax on houses to be at the rate of 6½ per cent. additional as against three per cent. on land. Then you say, 'We want more money by direct taxation,' and you come with your scheme of compensation, or rather, I should call it spoliation; and you go to Schedule A again, and lay on another ninepence in the pound on houses, or another 3½ per cent., thus making the tax 10½ per cent. on houses as against three per cent. on land. But that is not all; for we all know that in making an assessment on real property and on houses, you assess houses at a less number of years' purchase than you do land; for land is usually assessed at 30 years' purchase, while houses are only assessed at 15 years' purchase; and, therefore, if you levy the same tax on both of them, you cause a double pressure of taxation.

If you invest £1000 in land and £1000 in houses, while the one is assessed at 30 years' purchase and the other at 15, if you lay the same tax on both of them, it is in fact double on the sum invested, making actually 10½ per cent. more; and that brings the whole amount you levy on houses up to 21 per cent., and that is what you propose to levy on houses as against three per cent. on land."

This was reviving the contest between town and country. The tax would be especially oppressive on the saving artisan; such men as had through the agency of Freehold Land Societies purchased cottages worth 10*l.* a year. Mr. Cobden then referred to the Malt-tax. He agreed with Mr. Disraeli that it was a tax for the consumer; but it was also a grievance on the producer. Therefore, if the revenue could afford it, he would abolish the Malt-tax; but he objected to the repeal of one-half: he objected to halving an excise tax. Also, he did not believe that beer was a necessary of life—indispensable to the health and strength of the labourers. A "large, a growing, and an influential body" [the Teetotallers] held it pernicious; and high medical authorities had testified the same. Thus, the House-tax would press on many unbeneftited by the repeal of half the Malt-tax. Even if the House-tax were passed, it could not be maintained: the agitation against it would be continuous, and should be successful. Touching the Hop-duty the policy of repealing one-half was particularly paltry and trifling; the tax was uncertain and insignificant, while it was cumbersome and costly in collection; the total repeal was plainly the proper course. With regard to the distinction between the taxes on permanent and precarious incomes made in the Budget, he gave the Government all credit for a course, remarkable as coming from the "territorial" party. But this good part of the Budget was leavened by a miserable, paltry attempt to get a special benefit for the tenant-farmer; instead of charging the tax on one-half his rent, you charge it on one-third, when it is clear that the farmer's income is in all ordinary cases much more than one-third of his rent. Direct taxation was good, but let it be on all incomes and all property: let there be no exemptions; but this was impossible while you had indirect taxation pressing heavily on the receivers of small incomes and the labouring class. In some instances, the new Income-tax would act thus: a farmer paying 280*l.* a year rent for 250 acres of land, having horses, cows, and sheep, and employing labourers, would pay no Income-tax (one-third of his rent not being 100*l.* a year), while the poor clerk in a town, living on 100*l.*, should pay 5*l.* in the pound. The advocates of Free-trade were not necessarily the advocates of direct taxation—that was a distinct question: nor were they always seeking low prices: they sought abundance, which sometimes by suggesting a demand, increased rather than lowered prices. Mr. Disraeli called beer a necessary of life; and how was he going to cheapen it? By raising the price of lodgings. Were not lodgings as necessary as beer? A new name also had been found for Free-trade—"unrestricted competition"—he objected to the name: Free-traders had a right to choose the name of their own party. Mr. Cobden, after pointing out the injurious nature of the soap and paper duties, concluded by hinting ("even though called a Quaker for doing so") at the late increased expenditure [for national defences]. He admitted that on this account and others the extension of direct taxation was necessary; but he could not see any direct tax he could substitute for the Malt-tax.

Lord JOHN MANNERS claimed special credit for the distinction in the Budget between precarious and permanent incomes, and anticipated from the remission of half the Malt-tax an increase in the consumption of the "fine old English beverage" of beer.

Here Mr. Rich and Mr. Lowe rose together. There were loud cries for "Lowe," but he gave way.

Mr. RICH showed, from the proportion of malt used in making beer, that the proposed alteration would affect the price of strong beer one penny per gallon, and cheap beer scarcely one farthing per pot.

Mr. LOWE, taking a wide view of the circumstances of the country, and showing the surplus that had arisen under the present system, denied the necessity of a change in our financial system. But this proposed change seemed based on the anticipation that our present unexampled prosperity would continue unchecked. The proverbial zeal of converts had led Mr. Disraeli to this sanguine view. Look at the emigration of our people; it was rapid enough. He did not wish to see it increased; and he deprecated the impulse that would be given to it by measures such as the Budget, which would forcibly suggest to the people that there were countries where there was no House-tax, no Income-tax, no assessed-taxes, no excise. The Malt-tax proposed to be partly remitted was a tax easily levied; consumers had never objected to it, and the remission of half the duty would not cheapen the cost of beer, for the monopoly of the brewers prevented the

unrestricted competition that could alone cause a reduction in the cost of production to act upon the price.

"There was not in this country such an iron monopoly, or one so difficult to deal with, and so growing, as that of the brewers. It was gaining strength every day; the trade was constantly getting into fewer hands; the system was becoming better and better organised; and the notion, that by taking 16*l.* off the cost of a bushel of malt they would materially lower the price of malt liquor, while that liquor had to pass through the hands of wealthy monopolists, was entirely fallacious. Let them look a little at the past. Malt had been very much cheapened by the repeal of the corn-laws; and yet every one knew that the consumer had not been benefited in the least. The whole of the reduction had passed into the hands of the brewers; although it was manifest, without going into details, that the brewers could have afforded a considerable reduction to the consumer. How was it that prices were kept up, notwithstanding the diminution in the cost of production? The thing was very simple. Persons with large capital possessed themselves of all the public houses, and let them to tenants, with whom they made a stipulation with regard to profits. He believed the profit on London porter was 4*s.* per barrel; and considering the expenses incurred by the tenant for rent, gas, &c., that was an allowance which would never be submitted to if the retail dealers were not entirely in the brewers' hands. The result of the system was a large amount of adulteration. There was another class of brewers who manufactured beer, which was sold by the retail dealers under the name of bitter beer. He did not know what were the terms on which these gentlemen made beer; but he did know that both the quart and the pint were getting less, and he supposed that by-and-by they would come down to the size of medicine-bottles. That was the state of the brewing-trade; and he asked the House what better proof they could have of the existence of an iron and inexorable monopoly, which left the retail dealer no choice between one of two courses—either to adulterate himself or to leave the liquor genuine, and take off about a fourth of the quantity? Now, if that were the state of the case, what chance was there that any part of the 16*l.* which they were going to take off malt would find its way into the pocket of the consumer? He thought it would descend, like other reductions, into the pocket of the brewer. There was one course open, without which any reduction of taxation would be absurd and useless, and that was, to break up the brewers' monopoly. But how was that to be done? If the House were really anxious to give the people cheap beer, let them do away with the system of licensing—let them allow any shopkeeper to sell beer across the counter like any other article."

It was also objectionable in the proposition, that the remission was not to take place till the 15th of October. This revision of taxes not to take effect for some time was "a system of post-obits; it was raising immediate popularity, and drawing bills on futurity to pay the cost." But the effect of the system in this case would be, that the reduction in the Malt-tax, instead of affecting the year '53, would not act until '54; and thus Mr. Disraeli relieved himself by saddling the deficiency on the Chancellor of the Exchequer for 1854. He could not anticipate that the expense of the harassing contest in Kaffraria was at an end. As to the Exchequer Loan Commission, he regarded the matter in this point of view—

"The Government had borrowed money on Exchequer Bills in order to lend it out, and they had lent it out at a profit. But, now, was that a legitimate financial operation? He maintained the contrary. It would not be legitimate for an individual, and it could not be so for a nation. He would suppose a gentleman to be possessed of a large farm, and to have no ready money; he would suppose him to have an opportunity of putting one of his sons to great advantage in business, but that 5000*l.* was required for that purpose; he would suppose him to have mortgaged his estate to the extent of the 5000*l.*, on the condition that his son should repay him by instalments according to his ability; and lastly, he would suppose the son to have prospered in the world, and to have continued refunding the money until he had repaid the whole. He asked the House whether a person in that situation, having a landed estate, as they had in this island, and having a powerful, as they had, to provide for, would be acting as a careful, prudent father of a family, if as he received those instalments he spent them as part of his income; or whether he ought not to carry them to the account of the mortgage."

Mr. MILLS opined, from the "universal murmur of dissatisfaction" with which the Budget had been received, that it "must have been conceived in a spirit of impartial justice;" but he objected to the increase, though not to the extension, of the House-tax, especially as the Malt-tax for which it was substituted was not complained of by the consumer.

Mr. BASS defended the brewers; there was no monopoly; the elements of success in the trade were, superior skill, good management, and the usual advantages flowing from large capital. The proposed remission of half the Malt-tax would be beneficial to both beer-consumers and barley-growers—

"For himself, he had no hesitation in saying that there would be a reduction of from 4*s.* to 6*s.* a barrel, according to the strength of the beer. (Hear, hear.) Light beer, of course, would not bear so large a reduction as strong beer—(laughter)—and it would be quite unreasonable to expect any large reduction in the price of pale ale. [Shouts of laughter greeted this announcement of the hon. gentleman's, that in the particular article for which he is so famous, the public would not experience any great benefit from the reduction of the malt duty.]

Lord A. VANE approved of the Budget. Mr. F.



PEEL thought that the direct taxation, when imposed, should be laid on with a friendly and discriminating hand. At present the people could not see any emergency calling for an increase of direct taxation. He characterised the Budget as retaliatory in principle.

Mr. WALPOLE pointed out that Mr. Peel, Sir C. Wood, and Mr. Cobden had severally admitted the wisdom of these parts of the Budget—the remission of the tea duties, the relief to the shipping interest, and the distinction between incomes. The Budget carried out three things—cheapness of articles of consumption, relief to the farmers, and equality of burden on all competitors in trade. Sir C. Wood had anticipated no increased consumption of beer, because the manufacture had not heretofore increased; but it was the taxation which had prevented the increase. The remission of the tea duties would cheapen a beverage “which, after all, should be the most encouraged,” and would extend trade with China. Next, the colonial interest and the shipping interest had been relieved; then the agriculturists. Mr. Cobden had compared the Malt-tax to the duty on cotton taken off in 1830. If, at that time, that duty produced five millions which could not suddenly be spared, still, would not the remission of half have been wise and beneficial? Mr. Walpole then defended the exemptions from taxation of the Irish landholder, and argued that the Irish fundholder had no right to claim that exemption, for his peculiar right to exemption arose from national circumstances, not from his residence in any part of the United Kingdom; and as to the general fundholder, they had a perfect right to tax him according to the quality of his income. Mr. Walpole, having gone through the items of the Budget, wound up by some sentences of strained eulogy on his colleague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

“I think you will find that, although the measure is a large and comprehensive one, so large and so comprehensive, indeed, that the right honourable baronet opposite wished him to divide it into two halves, making one of them his budget for 1853, and the other half, I suppose, the budget for 1854—(cheers and laughter)—yet that budget is not so large nor so comprehensive but that my right honourable friend will show to this House—and I trust that he will at least have the opportunity of doing so—that he can do in one year what many Chancellors would do in three years. (Ironical cheers.) But I really would not have gone into this dispute except for the very disparaging tone which I think has been somewhat improperly made use of. (Ministerial cheers.) I must ask whence it is that these extraordinary attacks are made against my right honourable friend? What is the reason, what is the cause, why is he to be assailed at every point when he has brought forward—when he has made two financial statements in one year, which have met, I believe, with the approbation of the House, and certainly of the country? Is it because you are jealous of his success? (Ministerial cheers.) Is it because he has successfully struggled hard and long with genius against rank and against power, until he has attained the highest eminence to which an honourable ambition could ever aspire—the leadership and guidance of the Commons of England? (Ministerial cheers.) Is it because he has verified in his person the dignified language of the description of the great philosophic poet of antiquity, portraying equally his past career and his present position:—

“Certare ingenio contendere nobilitate,  
Notæ atque dies niti præstante laboræ  
Ad summæ emergere opes, rerumque potiri.”

(loud cheers.) My right hon. friend has attained that position; and who will grudge it to him? I will not speak disparagingly—God forbid that I should—of the right honourable baronet the member for Halifax—his abilities and his powers are admitted by all; but without disparaging him, I think I may say that the budget of my right honourable friend may bear comparison with any of his. (Ministerial cheers.) The best judges in this country will declare, nay, I believe they have declared, that by his budget he has put himself on a level with the boldest and, at the same time, the most prudent financier which this country has produced. (Ironical cheers.) They will tell you, at any rate, in the greatest emporium of commerce of the globe, that these plans have reflected credit upon him—in the judgment of those best capable of judging of them, of the highest eminence, they will tell you, as you have been reminded this night, that he has disproved by these propositions the common fallacy which the world ran away with, that a man of genius may not be essentially and practically a man of business. And whatever may be the result of this debate—whatever may be the fate of the present Government—whatever may be the effect of that ill-assorted alliance which I see before me (Ministerial cheers)—the country will say, I firmly believe, that my right hon. friend has earned for himself a reputation as extensive as the empire which he is largely benefiting by his legislation, and gratitude as permanent as the honest generosity of a thankful, enlightened, and reflecting community. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. GOULBURN contrasted the present financial scheme with the course pursued by Sir Robert Peel. He first obtained an available balance, and then made reductions; but the present Government created a deficiency, and then called for more taxation. The question now was, could the finances afford to lose two and a-half millions? There was a present surplus, but Mr. Disraeli, with “a certain kind of courage,” proposed to subject the country, at the end of next year, to a deficiency they could not calculate beforehand.

In the meantime, Lord DERBY, replying to Lord Wicklow, made some statements, intended to be significant in the HOUSE OF LORDS, early on Tuesday evening:—

“The question of the extension of direct taxation, subject to as few exemptions as possible, engaged at the present moment the anxious attention of the House of Commons, and he trusted it would be solved in the course of the present week. That question was one of deep and vital importance to the permanent interests of the country. He was not speaking of any personal results attaching to the present Government—though, undoubtedly, the decision of the House of Commons, whatever it might be, could not fail to have important and immediate consequences on the position of the Government itself—but he was speaking with respect to the permanent interests of the country, in reference to which he held that the decision of Parliament on the question was of the most vital importance. He earnestly hoped that as soon as practicable Parliament would relieve the country from the anxiety with which it was awaiting the decision of the House of Commons on that important subject. Undoubtedly, it was not desirable to hurry or accelerate the proceedings of the other House, so as to preclude that body from the due consideration, not of any change in minute detail, but of the great and broad principles involved in their present deliberations; yet he thought it was of great importance that the country should not continue long in suspense as to the course the Parliament might adopt, and as to the hands, also, by which the system now established was to be administered. He hoped a few days or hours might decide that question, as far as the other House was concerned. He regretted that in consequence of these discussions, and the delay which had taken place—though, of course, he did not complain of the delay—it was necessary for their lordships to meet day after day, with little or no business to transact, to sit for a few minutes only, and then to adjourn; and he was anxious, as soon as the decision of the House of Commons should be pronounced, and the resolution now before that assembly affirmed, if affirmed it should be, that their lordships should be released from their daily attendance there. But, while the question to which he had referred, and other questions contingent on it, remained in abeyance and undecided, he thought he should be wanting in his duty to the Crown if he were to recommend an adjournment of the House for any lengthened period, and thus deprive the Crown of the possibility of the attendance of that House at a time when it might be necessary for the Crown to have recourse to its immediate advice and assistance.”

On Tuesday, after Mr. DISRAELI had incidentally placed the question at issue on this ground—Whether “the area of direct taxation should be extended,” Lord JOCELYN expressed his approval of the Budget. Mr. OSBORNE commented on the question in a speech marked by his usual fitness of phraseology and wonted happiness of quotation, and by a treatment of the topic more than usually able. Avoiding discussion on “direct” and “indirect” taxation, he pointed out a peculiarity in the Budget: all new tax was immediate,—all remissions were left “looming in the future.” The remitted moiety of the Malt-tax was “compensation” in disguise: why was the House-tax—its substitute—levied only on town houses, and not on country cottages? The speaker quoted Sir E. B. Lytton’s *England and the English*—especially the passage, “I believe, if ever the national debt be in danger, the fatal attack will come less from the Radicals than from the country gentleman, jealous of the fundholder, and crippled with mortgages.” This, read with point, elicited ringing cheers from the Opposition. A still happier quotation closed his remarks.

Mr. Walpole had lauded Mr. Disraeli, and had referred to his reception at the Guildhall, as a proof of the popularity of the Government. A remarkable parallel to that reception could be found:—

“He alluded to the reception of Buckingham and Richard III., when Duke of Gloster, at Guildhall. Gentlemen would remember the quotation in Shakespeare:—

“When he had done, some followers of mine own,  
At lower end o’ the hall, hur’d up their caps,  
And some ten voices cried ‘God save King Richard!’  
And thus I took the ‘vantage of those few,—  
‘Thanks, gentle citizens, and friends,’ quoth I;  
‘This general applause and cheerful shout  
Argues your wisdom and your love to Richard.’”

(Roars of laughter.) He would venture to suggest to the Home Secretary, when he quoted the reception at Guildhall, that it was not very probable a set of well-to-do gentlemen, who were met to discuss the tender merits of turtle and venison, would be inclined to criticize with any severe eye the dry details of a financial project. No, those were not the classes they must quote as giving a cordial reception to their Budget. It was the industrious clerk, striving to support his family upon an income of not 150*l.* a-year. (Cheers.) It was the energetic mechanic, just emerging into independence, whom they must ask what they thought of the Budget. (Cheers.)

Alderman THOMPSON praised the Budget, and asserted that the repeal of the Timber-duty would be a less valuable boon to the shipping interest than the remissions that had been made. Sir B. HALL showed how unduly partial towards the tenant-farmers was the spirit of the financial propositions. Sir J. DUCKWORTH, confiding in the Government, supported the Budget, with reservations—intimating an objection to the House-tax.

Mr. HUME praised all the remissions and concessions

in the Budget; but condemned a House-tax as the worst of taxes. Why not add one per cent. to the Property-tax and strike off the House-tax? Indirect taxation should be still further and very extensively remitted, and direct taxation should be extended; the whole of the Malt-tax should be struck off, also the duties still remaining on 233 foreign manufactures and forty-two articles connected with agriculture. But he would vote against the present proposition. Sir E. C. DERING defended the Budget.

Sir J. GRAHAM, after pointing out Mr. Hume’s financial inconsistency, in consenting to wholesale remissions of taxes, replaced but by one per cent. tax on property, extracted from Mr. Disraeli a statement that the issue before the House was simply the narrowed question of the extension of the House-tax. He pointed out that that alone could not be considered, as the Budget calculated on the increase, as well as on the extension, of the tax. Briefly but clearly referring to the advance of sound financial and commercial doctrines already achieved, Sir James approved of the “shipping interest” portion of the Budget. The concession to the West India islands, of refining sugar in bond, was good; but he had been told that home holders of inferior sugar would use the privilege, causing an annual loss to the revenue of 200,000*l.*, uncounted by Mr. Disraeli. Did not this give added weight to the warning touching public credit expressed by Mr. Gladstone, “his independent station, his long experience, and his spotless character giving additional weight to that warning.” But a great admission had been made by Mr. Disraeli, namely,—that the security for the landed interest was to be found in the welfare of the working classes; as they become better off, poor-rates fall, and this relief compensates the landowners. “Thus, while there is much left on which we differ, there is much on which we agree.” After all the anticipation of the Budget that had been, he was glad to get the tangible thing at last: yet, stripping it of the Malt-tax repeal, the Hop-duty repeal, and the House-tax, it had the usual family features of all budgets. The repealing of half the Hop-duty was a specially unwise item. The Hop-duty was a tax comparatively costly in collection, vexatious to the producer, onerous to the consumer, and trifling as a source of revenue. It was just one of those taxes which should be entirely remitted or completely changed. The Malt-tax was a tax which former Governments found it impossible to do without: it was too great a source of revenue to be cut off. Mr. Bass had testified that it was not vexatious in its operation; and as to the farmer feeding his cattle, the law allowed him to wet barley, and cause it to germinate,—in fact, do everything but dry it for the purposes of brewing or distillation. The remission of half the duty would reduce the price of porter but one farthing per pot, and the reduction in the price of pale ale would be still less. Neither would the landed interest be served by the remission; the barley-growers, owing to the great demand and limited supply of barley, did not want any “boom” of this kind; and Scotland, with intrinsically inferior grain, would suffer from barley and inferior grain being put on a level. Sir James then addressed the country gentlemen, incredulous of his good will “as a friend, having a community of interest with them,”—[his advances were met by derisive cheers]—and pointed out that the Exchequer Loan Fund had been especially useful to them. It had also done the State good service, being a convenient plan of avoiding direct Government loans to local objects.

“And I ask, why should the Chancellor of the Exchequer, under these circumstances, lay violent hands upon this fund to meet a deficiency which he himself has created, by tampering with the taxation of the country, and by proposing to reduce simultaneously the Malt-tax and the Tea-duties, which together yield an annual income of 10,000,000*l.*, or no less than one-fifth of the whole revenue of the country? With a clear balance in the Exchequer of 1,500,000*l.*, the right honourable gentleman tampers with these two great branches of revenue, and, to meet a deficiency which he himself creates, he threatens to lay violent hands upon the funds of the Exchequer Loan Commissioners. In fact, the right honourable gentleman has no surplus, either in the first or second year, beyond what these particular funds will enable him with difficulty to obtain.”

He appealed to Mr. Herries, an experienced financier to pronounce on this point. Mr. Lowe had pointed out, with great force and ability—(cheers)—the impropriety of proposing reductions of duty to take place a year after you make the proposal. Mr. Disraeli had called direct taxation, with exemptions, confiscation; yet he had continued exemptions. In Ireland, for instance. The English clerk, with 100*l.* a-year income, will now pay for the first time 2*l.* 1*9s.* income and house tax, and you remit him virtually about 12*s.* a year in his malt and tea; while the Irish clerk of 100*l.* a-year obtains the same 12*s.* a-year benefit, but pays no income or house tax. The following were striking instances of

the inequitable character of some of the Income-tax distinctions:—

"By a fiction of law a bishop draws his income from land, and has 5000*l.* a-year, and you tax him 7*d.* in the pound. A judge has 5000*l.* a-year also for his life; he is in schedule D., and you tax him 5*d.* in the pound. Take another case. A widow receives 100*l.* a-year, charged on land in the shape of jointure, and under the Government proposition she would be taxed 7*d.* in the pound. We have heard of a Mr. Moore (great laughter) who has 7000*l.* a-year from a patent place which he contends is a freehold. You tax the widow who receives 100*l.* a-year charged on land at the rate of 7*d.* in the pound, while Mr. Moore, upon his sinecure of 7000*l.* a-year, is to pay only 5*d.* You talk about realized property. Now, any person having property in land in the colonies, any person having property in land in any part of Europe, any person having property in the foreign funds, is to be charged only 5*d.* Well, with all your care and anxiety for realized property, you will find, in the very heart of schedule C, which relates to fundholders, for whom you profess the tenderest regard, the holders of terminable annuities, some of whom lose their capital at the end of 1860, and while you only require the holders of realized property abroad to be taxed 5*d.*, your own holders of terminable annuities are absolutely, by your amended schedule, paying 7*d.* in the pound. Take, again, the case of Ireland. The Attorney-General for Ireland is not to be taxed a farthing, while his clerk who receives his briefs with 100*l.* a-year is to be charged 5*d.* in the pound upon his salary. A tide-waiter on Loch Foyle with a small salary of 120*l.* a-year, is to be taxed 5*d.* in the pound, while the Bishop of Derry, living in his palace by the side of the lake, is not to pay a penny."

As to direct taxation, Lord Derby himself had expressed wise fear that Free-trade rigidly carried out ("he would say rashly") would embarrass the finances; and Sir Robert Peel had approved of direct taxation but for a special and temporary purpose. For the Income-tax exemptions now proposed to be abolished there were, he thought, some good reasons.

"I am of opinion that that class having incomes between 100*l.* and 150*l.* a-year in this country constitutes exactly that class of persons who feel the greatest trouble in maintaining their position. It is exactly the point where skilled labour ends—where, if I may use the expression, the fustian jacket ceases to be worn, and broadcloth becomes the clothing of the people. It is, more or less, a class of persons compelled by circumstances to maintain a position somewhat higher than their income will allow. I will give instances in explanation of what I mean: clerks in counting-houses, the humblest clerks in County Courts, many of the ministers of the established religion in this country, and many of the Dissenting ministers, have to maintain a position somewhat higher than their humble means will permit. (Hear, hear.) And, then, with respect to indirect taxation, I have here a list of twelve articles—[tea, spirits, malt, sugar, soap, postage, corn, coffee, paper, butter, cheese]—yielding, in the gross, a revenue of 32,369,000*l.* annually, which press heavily upon the class I have alluded to."

Direct taxation should be reserved for an emergency; if a war arose, the people could bear an additional burthen. But it should be only a war-tax. Lord Liverpool's ministry—a strong ministry—fell because it wished to continue the 10 per cent. property-tax (imposed as a war-tax) one year after the war had ceased. The Government should be guided by that experience, and reserve direct taxation as their great resource in time of war.

Sir J. PAKINGTON stated that the principle of extending direct taxation was involved in the resolution immediately under discussion; but the Government would not be "imprudent" in that extension. The frequent votes of former Parliaments affecting, sometimes wholly repealing the Malt-tax, showed the importance of its repeal. The remission would serve the consumer. Mr. Bass had calculated a reduction of 6*s.* per barrel; that would be to a poor man 16*s.* or 18*s.* in the year, which would go far towards paying his house-rent. The Exchequer Loan Fund was not now resorted to on account of the change in the money-market. He warmly protested against the offensive imputations made by Mr. Osborne and Mr. Peel, that the Budget was a measure of revenge or retaliation on the middle classes. He was surprised to hear Mr. Lowe, an able member of the "liberal" and "progress" party, advising that things should be left as they were. If the combined Opposition succeeded in overthrowing the Government on this question, how would they deal with the Income-tax? Mr. Cobden and Mr. Hume called Mr. Disraeli's mode of dealing with it merely justice, while Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Gladstone, and Lord John Russell called it spoliation.

Sir ALEXANDER COCKBURN then moved that the chairman do report progress. Upon this an explanatory discussion arose; in the course of which, Mr. Disraeli re-stated "the situation." Government would take the vote on the extension of the House-tax as conclusive on the principle of the Budget. The Government certainly intended to propose doubling as well as extending the House-tax, but that intention did not preclude an amendment suggested by the House itself, or by the Government, of the proposition to that effect already notified.

Thursday's discussion decided the fate of the Budget.

After a very long and confused discussion as to the exact question they were going to divide about, it was agreed on all sides that the whole of the resolution doubling the House-tax and extending its area should be read, and the division taken on that.

The opening discussion, carried on by Sir ALEXANDER COCKBURN, Sir FRANCIS BAKING, Lord DRUMLANRIG, Mr. BLAIR, Mr. MOORE, and Mr. PEACOCK, was followed by the two main speeches of the evening—those of Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rose to vindicate his propositions, remarking that he had listened to nothing that had successfully impugned his policy:—

He first addressed himself to his estimates of revenue, and began with the 400,000*l.* from the Public Works Loan Fund, and, entering into the history of that fund, defended his proposal for its extinction, and for the mode of repayment he recommended. In especial reply to Sir James Graham, he pointed out, not only that the high rate of interest demanded for these loans kept first-class securities away, but, as a circumstance of more weight, he represented that the fund had been applied by a succession of Ministers to far other purposes than those of local improvements. The Thames Tunnel Company had received 250,000*l.*, which never could be repaid. Battersea Park, a woful speculation, had 150,000*l.*, and owed 12,000*l.* for interest. 700,000*l.* had actually been lost to the country, though Sir J. Graham had asserted that not a shilling had been lost. As a guardian of public interests, he had felt it his duty to put an end to so iniquitous a system; and after duly considering what was to be done with the repayments, which he had estimated at the 400,000*l.* in question, he had decided, not to lock it up in the Exchequer, or unlawfully to reduce the public debt, but to apply it to the latter purpose, through the medium of the arrangements of the Budget. After this explanation (which occupied exactly an hour) he proceeded to the mistake he had been charged by Sir C. Wood with making as to the produce of the Malt-tax; and, stating the details of the calculations he had made, assisted by the best authorities in the trade, he described them as fully justified, as also was his conduct in regard to the drawback he had announced. He declared that the Kafir war was finished, and that the latest news had confirmed his statement that no increased expenditure would be required, though after a war in a savage country there might long remain a flickering ember, and an officer might be occasionally shot. The Kafirs had no means of subsistence; they were lingering in the bush, and dying, and their skeletons were found there. In support of this view, he read General Cathcart's despatch of the 12th of October. He had made no estimate of the loss to the revenue by refining sugar in bond, because he believed there would be none; but for prudential reasons he would not enter further into that subject. After some general replies to party charges, and after denying that he had ever sought to deceive the farmers, he adverted at some length to the careful revision which Government had given to the financial system of the country, and intimated that before long the question of removing burdens on succession and on the transfer of land would have to be considered. The Government also had to consider how the country would allow such an increase of direct taxation as would enable them to carry out their plans. Then, turning upon Sir C. Wood, he retorted upon that honourable member's financial failures, with a series of sarcasms which brought down the loudest applause from the Ministerial benches, especially when, standing motionless, and with a most peculiar tone, he slowly enunciated some bitter sentences, concluding with a fierce declaration that Sir C. Wood 'had yet to learn that petulance was not sarcasm, and insolence not effectiveness.' He then defended the course Government had taken on the Income-tax, and on taxation generally, and said that they had had two principles to assert, first, that there ought to be a difference recognised between precarious and certain income, and secondly, that the basis of direct taxation should be enlarged, and this latter principle he predicted would ultimately become popular. As to what had been said about the franchise, he would say that he had never been too fond of associating it with mere money, but he would observe that he could think nothing more fatal than that a large body possessed of political power should use it to throw an undue weight of taxation upon other classes. Referring to Sir James Graham, he said, 'I do not so much respect him—but I greatly regard him'; he quoted one of his former speeches, from which the speaker deduced an inconsistency on the subject of taxing 'the poor clerk,' which drew loud cheers from his supporters. The allegation that the reduction of the malt-tax would be rendered useless to the consumer by the brewer, he met by reminding the committee that the same kind of argument had been adopted in reference to bread and the villainous millers and bakers. Protection dead! It was rampant, and had been inherited by the Opposition with the Protectionist benches. Likening Mr. Goulburn to a weird sibyl, he refused to agree with him that the public revenue was endangered, and he read a letter from an eminent actuary to refute Mr. Lowe, and to show that our population was likely to be increased rather than diminished by emigration. He announced that he looked to a great reduction in the public expenditure of the country, but that could be only achieved with regard to efficiency as well as economy, and therefore could not be accomplished until 1854-5. As an instance, he adduced an arrangement which the Marquis of Chandos had made, by his direction, for the better management of the Irish Chief Secretary's office, and offices connected with it, whereby an expenditure of 21,738*l.* a year had been reduced to 5,170*l.*; and in the office of the Secretary-at-War a similar improvement had taken place. But Government had been attempting to deal with much larger establishments, and he had arrived at the conclusion that great retrenchments were possible.

But such reforms were impossible without the fair support of the House of Commons. When he was told that his surplus was insufficient, he replied that he had other resources on which to depend, and it would be the fault of that House if large retrenchments were not made in 1854-5. He would pass over some small matters for the present. In conclusion, he said that he had been advised to withdraw his motion, as Mr. Pitt and 'others' (cheers) had done. He did not aspire to the fame of Mr. Pitt, but he would not submit to the degradation of 'others' (cheers.) When parties were balanced, and a Government could not pass its measures, the most important political dogmas became mere party questions. Direct taxation had become one, and so would an administrative reform which would save a million to the country. He knew he had to face a coalition: it might be successful, as coalitions had been before. But he would appeal from that coalition to the public opinion of the country, which little loved such things, and before which it became but 'the baseless fabric of a vision.'

Mr. DISRAELI concluded a speech of two hours and forty minutes amid tremendous ministerial cheers.

Mr. GLADSTONE rose, but for several minutes was unable to obtain a hearing in consequence of the agitation which prevailed in the house. At length he said:

"I am reluctant, Mr. Patten, to trespass upon the committee, but it appears to me that the speech we have just heard is a speech that ought to meet with a reply, and that, too, on the moment—(loud cheers from the Opposition); and, sir, I begin by telling the Chancellor of the Exchequer that I postpone for some minutes the inquiry whether he knows business; but there are some things which he, too, has yet to learn. (Great cheers, counter cheers, and confusion.) There were other reasons besides the reason of triviality and irrelevancy why a discussion should have been avoided to-night on the subject of emigration. (Renewed confusion and cheers.) And I tell the right honourable gentleman more—that the licence of language he has used (cheers and disturbance)—the phrases he has applied to the characters of public men (tremendous Opposition cheers, and interruptions from the Ministerial side of the House)—that the phrases he has applied to the characters of public men, whose career—(a renewed outburst of clamour from the Ministerial benches drowned the remainder of the sentence, and the right honourable gentleman was obliged to remain silent for several moments. When order was in some degree restored he said):—Mr. Patten, my wish is to keep myself, although I confess that I could not hear those phrases used and remain totally unmoved—my wish is to keep myself strictly within the bounds of Parliamentary order and propriety, and I beg of you, sir, that if in one syllable I trespass beyond those bounds you will have the kindness to correct me. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I do not address myself to those gentlemen belonging to the great party opposite, from whom I have never received anything but courtesy and forbearance; but notwithstanding the efforts of some gentlemen in a remote corner of the House, who avail themselves of darkness to interrupt me (loud cheers and confusion), I will tell them this, that they must bear to have their Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is so free in his comments upon the conduct of others, brought to the bar of the opinion of this committee, and tried by those laws of decency and propriety—(Tremendous cheers and confusion, which drowned the remainder of the sentence.) Sir, we are accustomed here to attach to the words of the Minister of the Crown a great authority—and that disposition to attach authority, as it is required by the public interest, so it has been usually justified by the conduct and character of those Ministers; but I must tell the right honourable gentleman that he is not entitled to charge with insolence men who—(Renewed uproar and cheers again drowned the remaining words of the sentence.) I must tell the right honourable gentleman that he is not entitled to say to my right honourable friend the member for Carlisle, that he regards him, but that he does not respect him. (Loud cheers.) I must tell the right honourable gentleman, that whatever he has learned—and he has learned much—he has not yet learned the limits of discretion, of moderation, and of forbearance—(great cheering and confusion)—that ought to restrain the conduct and language of every member of this House, the disregard of which is an offence in the meanest amongst us, but it is of tenfold weight when committed by the leader of the House of Commons." (Loud and long-repeated cheers.)

"Then, addressing himself to the question before the committee, Mr. Gladstone said that an unbounded liberty of action was no doubt allowed to every member of Parliament, and that it was open to members, after passing this resolution, to alter it in any inconsistent way they pleased; but the constitutional object of a parliamentary committee was to sift and sanction the proposals which came before it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's memory was good as to past dates and withdrawn budgets; but did he remember the proceedings of that debate, and the varying declarations that had been made by Ministers as to the effect of the vote that was asked? There had never been a moment at which greater vigilance was required. He objected to the resolution, either as a house-tax, or as the Budget. For all the Chancellor of the Exchequer had done, he might as well have proposed his tax directly he came into office. But a broader objection to the Budget was that it introduced but two direct taxes, and these were so adroitly contrived as to strike upon the same classes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might have little sympathy for "the poor clerk," but he would instance to him the condition of one of his own yeomen, suddenly smitten by his friend's hand with three new taxes hitherto unknown to him, but amounting to five per cent. of his income. The clergy he declared to have similar reason to complain of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Gladstone also opposed the House-tax because it was connected with the repeal of the Malt-tax. *Malt, though continuous with the old English beverage*



was also contemporaneous with ardent spirits. If, certainly, a great reform and change of system could be achieved, the case would be different, but the result of the proposed alteration would be to increase all the objections to the present system. There was a smack and savour of compensation about the proposed repeal. Showing that this measure would not benefit the consumer, he considered it with reference to the revenue, and argued from the analogy in the case of beer (which, with 20 per cent. taken off, increased only 25 per cent. in 22 years), that the Chancellor of the Exchequer's anticipation had been much too sanguine. Then, he remarked, the repealing of one tax in order to impose another might be justifiable, but would draw down a severity of scrutiny which this proceeding could not bear. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that the principles of the Budget were new—the Home Secretary, that they were old. He could not hold with both, if any gentleman could; but he inclined to hold with the former. Disallowing the right of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to call himself a follower of Free-trade principles, or those of Sir Robert Peel, who invariably adhered to the principle of raising within the year ample sums for the services of that year, he proceeded to the subject of the Income-tax. A question had been opened, he said, of a most formidable character, but the course of the Government had been that of pandering to the coarsest passions, by casting upon the world seductive arrangements which it was known could never be carried into effect. If there were no real plan for re-arranging the Income-tax, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been guilty of a grave offence against the public. Laying much stress upon this part of the argument, he denied that any plan for separating precarious from permanent income had ever yet been presented to Parliament. He lastly affirmed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had presented a Budget without a surplus, and had in the earlier part of his speech gone a long way towards admitting it. Borrowed money alone was provided for the surplus of the year, and that was no surplus at all. These were not times to trifle with the revenue. He asked whether the committee was prepared to support a Government who so dealt with it? The Chancellor of the Exchequer had laid out its good deeds for approbation that night, as a shopman paraded his wares. His predecessors had effected reformations like those of which he boasted, but had not found it necessary so to parade them. He voted against the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his Budget, because that Budget was the most subversive one he had ever seen, and he opposed it in support of the conservative principles common, he believed, to a majority of the House of Commons. He concluded with an earnest warning to the Ministerialists that they were all at the bar of public opinion, and that they would look back upon their support of this Budget with a late but an ineffectual regret.

After some observations from Mr. CONOLLY, in reply to a few words addressed to him by Mr. Gladstone, the Committee then divided, and the numbers were—

For the resolution . . . . .	286
Against it . . . . .	305
Majority against Government . . . . .	—19

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER then suggested the adjournment of the House until Monday.

The House adjourned at twenty minutes to four.

#### TENANT RIGHT.

The debate on the second reading of the Tenants Compensation (Ireland) Bill, adjourned on the 7th inst., was resumed, on Wednesday, by Mr. J. D. FITZGERALD, who reproached the Government, and especially the Attorney-General for Ireland, with dealing unfairly with the bill of Mr. Serjeant Shee, which, although Mr. Napier had, he said, consented to its second reading, was now stigmatized as destructive of the rights of property and embodying a Communistic principle. He (Mr. Fitzgerald) assented to the principle of that bill, recognising property in improvements, though he objected to many of its details; whereas he dissented from Mr. Napier's bill, because its details rendered the claims to such property liable to be defeated; although he did not oppose its being read a second time, because its preamble was large enough to develop the true principle.

Mr. NAPIER vindicated his own consistency, and reiterated the explanations he had given, when he introduced this and the other Irish land bills, of the theory and principles of his new agricultural code, especially of this part of it, in which his object had been to reconcile the rights of property with the rights of industry. He gave a history of the tentative legislation with reference to this question, and, professing an honest desire to bring it to a final settlement, he proceeded to explain and defend the details and machinery of his bill, which, he observed, avoided all interference with the Ulster tenant right, or any other custom or private agreement between landlord and tenant, securing to the latter all the rights which even Mr. S. Crawford claimed for him, consistent with the rights of property. He then entered upon a criticism of Mr. Shee's bill, which, he contended, involved the principle of compulsory valuation, and specified a variety of objections to its leading principles and provisions.

Mr. LUCAS seconded Mr. Fitzgerald's call for explanation on the subject of the reference of the two bills to a select committee, asking whether the inquiry was to be an illusory one, which could have no result, or a full, *bona fide*, and unbiased inquiry. The ground

upon which he objected to Mr. Napier's bill was, that wishing, as he did, for a measure that should be conservative, he found that bill to be, not a measure of liberal conservative reform, but one that in its nature (bating one or two principles) was essentially revolutionary. He combated the doctrine that in only a few instances had the Irish landlords obtained rent upon improvements. He showed that since 1780 the rental of Ireland had increased 6,000,000L., and everybody admitted that the landlords had not made improvements; so that these were all tenants' improvements, which had increased the rate of production beyond that of English husbandry. He pursued this line of argument in much detail, in order to show that there had been great improvements of late years in every department of agriculture in Ireland, proving the existence there of an active, industrious, and improving tenantry. If, he said, this class had secured to them the power of calling what was really their property their own, if the Irish tenantry were encouraged in their progress, they would become a magnificent machinery for the amelioration of Ireland. The custom in large districts, he asserted, with good as well as bad landlords, was to put, not merely high, but impossible rents upon their tenants, the distinction between the two classes of landlords consisting in the manner in which these impossible rents were enforced; and he contended, that the provision in Mr. Napier's bill for compensating periods would afford no remedy in such cases, of which Mr. Lucas mentioned several examples.

Mr. DRUMMOND said Mr. Lucas had made a speech full of most interesting matter, but he was at a loss to understand his objection to the motion. Mr. Drummond admitted everything said by him both of landlords and tenants; his difficulty was to know why the relations between the two classes in Ireland should differ from those in other parts of the world. If, however, this was an exceptional case, the remedy must be exceptional.

Sir J. SHELLEY observed, that there were two sides to this question, and in giving a compensation to the tenant—a principle he had always advocated—wrong should not be inflicted upon the landlord.

Lord NAAS considered that, although the principle of the two bills were antagonistical and irreconcilable, their details might, nevertheless, be discussed before the select committee with advantage. He replied to Mr. Lucas, whom he accused of dealing unjustly with the landlords of Ireland, contending that, as a body, they did not deserve such wholesale condemnation, and that the agricultural improvements he had dilated upon might be attributed to the encouragement given by landlords. He believed that the bill of Mr. Napier would satisfy the tenantry of Ireland, as it would insure to a good tenant a certain compensation for his improvements. The principle of that bill was, that the compensation to a tenant depended solely and entirely upon the improvement he should make; whereas the other bill threw overboard that wholesome principle, legalizing the tenant-right of Ulster, which depended only upon the incoming tenant's disposition to buy, and introduced a compulsory settlement of rent, which was nothing less than Communism.

Lord MONCK admitted that the bill of Mr. Napier was a great advance on the part of the present Government. No measure upon this subject could, in his opinion, be satisfactory to the tenantry of Ireland which was not based upon the principle of giving the tenant a property in any additional value he conferred upon the land by the exertion of his industry, or by the investment of his capital. His main objection to this bill was founded upon the complexity of its details.

Mr. WHITESIDE defended the bill, the objects contemplated by which he briefly enumerated, and should rejoice, he said, if it could be improved in the committee. He objected to the other bill because it was impossible in theory, wrong in principle, and impracticable in its details.

The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be referred to a select committee.

#### MAJOR BERESFORD'S CASE.

Mr. GOULBURN, amidst the deepest silence in the House, brought up, on Thursday, the following report from the select committee appointed to inquire into the connexion of Major Beresford with the transactions at the late Derby election:—

"The select committee appointed to take into consideration the petition of certain inhabitant householders of the borough of Derby, on the 2nd of November last, have to report to your honourable house:—That your committee have examined witnesses, and have heard counsel in support of the petition, as well as on behalf of the Right Hon. William Beresford, Secretary-at-War, and a member of this house. Your committee have to report, with reference to the specific allegations contained in the report before them, that the evidence has satisfied them that a plan for an organized system of bribery existed in the borough of Derby at the last election. That the Right Hon. William Beresford wrote a letter to one John Frail, of Shrewsbury, in the following terms:—

"A good and safe man, with judgment and quickness, is wanted immediately at Derby. I suppose that you cannot leave your own place; if not, send some one whom you can trust in your place. Let him go to Derby on receiving this, and find the County Tavern, in the centre of the town. Send his card to Cox, Brothers, and Co., Lead-works, as coming from Chester. That will be enough."

"Monday. Yours, W. B." That in consequence of such letter, one Thomas Morgan, jun., was sent to Derby by the said John Frail, and acting on the instructions therein contained, was subsequently detected and apprehended in Derby, while engaged in carrying out the plan of the organized system of bribery proved before your committee to have existed. Your committee do not think there is sufficient evidence to satisfy their minds that the arrangement, scheme, and object referred to in the petition were known to and concurred in by the Right Hon. W. Beresford; but your committee are of opinion that the equivocal expressions of that letter ought at least to have suggested to him an idea of the improper use to which that letter might have been, and, in fact, was applied. And they think it exhibited a reckless indifference and disregard of consequences which they cannot too highly censure."

It was agreed that the evidence should be printed.

#### THE FRAIL-BERESFORD COMMITTEE.

ALTHOUGH the committee sitting to decide how far Major Beresford is implicated in the Derby bribery has kept its doors closed, yet the evidence has been dribbled out to the press; and the committee are responsible for any errors which may have been set before the public. Substantially, the evidence does not alter the case, nor materially add to what was already known. In his examination, Major Beresford admitted that he wrote the "W. B." letter; that he gave it to Cox of Derby, who forwarded it to Frail of Shrewsbury. But he says that he only consented to find a man to watch the other side, prevent illegal practices, and the kidnapping of voters, on the assurance of Mr. Cox, that nothing illegal was intended. The negotiation was carried on at the Carlton. He admits that Frail has been in his pay for three years, at a salary of 300L. a-year. He does not clearly explain what his duties were. He could not remember anything about anything—not even his own letters. He professed not to know what he meant by such terms as carrying the borough by "sudden assault," with 1000L. He reiterated the charge of conspiracy against Flewker, Cox of Nottingham, and others. Morgan was afterwards examined. He admitted going to Derby with the "W. B." letter; when there, he saw Flewker and Radford, at the County Tavern. Radford merely said, "How are you?" Morgan said, he thought he was to be a poll-clerk; then found he was to pay legitimate expenses to the holders of tickets for 2L.; and wondered why they were not paid in an attorney's office. He paid such as brought them, having no idea what they were for. A "man in drab" gave him the money to pay with; he believed the man in drab was Flewker, whom he had previously seen in black. But the landlord of the County Tavern proved that Flewker wore black each time when he called; and Lund admitted that he carried heavy parcels to the tavern, and that he wore a drab coat; so that Morgan's attempt to fix the charge of bringing the money on Flewker failed. Morgan could not remember whether he agreed to the signal before it was used; but he remembered the signal perfectly. It will be remembered that Mr. Beresford said Morgan was sent to prevent illegal practices; but Morgan admitted that he never heard of any staff to detect bribery, or prevent kidnapping, or any such thing. Frail was examined, sitting on two chairs; but he merely proved the receipt of the "W. B." letter; the sending of Morgan to Derby; and generally his own intimate relations with the Carlton.

#### ANTI-BUDGET MEETINGS.

SOUTHWARK, formally assembled under its high bailiff, led the metropolitan opposition to the Budget this week. Resolutions, condemning the cardinal points of the whole scheme—the correlative doubling and extension of the House-tax, and the repeal of half the Malt-tax, were agreed to, on Monday, in the Town Hall. An additional clause was afterwards added, advising the adoption of a legacy and probate-duty on real property, in the event of new taxes being necessary. Sir William Molesworth and Mr. Apsley Pellatt, the borough members, addressed the electors. Sir William opposes the whole Budget, as likely to create a "deficiency," and as based on the repeal of the Malt-tax, which is not called for, and the extension and increase of the House-tax, which is unjust. Mr. Pellatt, like a nameless but famous candidate for Bristol, who said, "I say ditto to Mr. Burke," "adheres to the sentiments put forth" by Sir William Molesworth. It is not easy to discern the sentiments connected with a tax on houses and a tax on malt.

Similar meetings have been held in Lambeth, Westminster, and Finsbury, with the like results. The feeling in the metropolis against the Budget is unquestionably very strong indeed. Besides Sir William Molesworth, Lord Dudley Stuart, Sir Benjamin Hall, Mr. Williams, Mr. Dancombe, Sir John Shelley, and Sir De Lacy Evans have assisted at the meetings of their constituents; but the resolutions have been moved by electors.

In the provinces, the feeling is not less declared nor less positive. Liverpool, Southampton, Stourbridge, Buckingham, Bedford, Worcester, Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Edinburgh, Chatham, and other places, have agreed to petitions declaring the scheme oppressive and unjust.

#### THE KAFIR WAR.

News from the Cape up to the 6th of November was brought on Monday, by the *Queen of the South*. But matters are advanced only a short way nearer to a conclusion; while, whatever satisfaction may be drawn from the military progress, is alloyed by the civil intelligence.

General Cathcart appears to have been carrying on repeated and vigorous attacks upon the small bodies of Kaffirs still lurking about. They are represented as in a deplorable condition, without food or ammunition, and driven into the great forests on the skirts of the Amatolas, for refuge. The Waterkloof is now cleared. The camp of Uithalder, the rebel Hottentot chief, has been burnt, and he himself is reported as having set out to try his fortunes over the Orange river. An interview between General Cathcart and the Siambe chiefs, had ended in the surrender of Seyolo. Sandilli had been nearly captured by the daring of Lieutenant Whitmore, who chased him to the bush. An officer had been cut to pieces escorting cattle. In general, however, we have no military news, because the Commander-in-Chief was very close, and kept his general orders secret.

A despatch from Sir John Pakington was read in the Cape Town Legislative Assembly, on the 4th, announcing that the Constitution was further postponed, in consequence of serious difficulties besetting the franchise question. Whereupon meetings were held, expressing the indignation of the colonists, threatening serious consequences, and declaring that they should hold the advisers of that course responsible for what ensued.

We may remark that the *Queen of the South* has proved an excellent boat. She encountered very bad weather, and behaved admirably. Her passage was greatly delayed by the breaking off of one of the fans of her screw.

#### THE BURMESE WAR.

PROPERLY it would be correct to write cessation of war in Burmah, for owing to delay on the part of General Godwin, matters were at a stand at the end of October. Sir John Cheape held Promé, while a few thousand Burmese were stationed about six miles off, whom he was not allowed to attack. General Godwin was marching the second division to Promé by land, and when made, Ava would be assailed also by land. Elephants had been sent from Calcutta to carry the heavy guns of the army. Meanwhile, the steam-fleet, by the sudden fall of the Irrawaddy, were aground at Promé. By this time, had Captain Tarleton been permitted, he and his blue-jackets and marines would have captured Ava. It is no wonder that the system of appointing old and procrastinating officers to the active commands in the East Indies is exciting such general displeasure.

It is reported that the Affghans are in arms again; but the report requires to be confirmed, as it comes from the same source as the famous story about the lauding of British troops at Herat!

#### CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES.

AT present, the affair of the *Crescent City* has been compromised. A letter from President Fillmore, which has been published, and an article in the government organ, the *Washington Republic*, show that the President extends no sort of countenance to the proceedings of the *Crescent City*. He is resolved to maintain the rights of the United States as against Spain; but he will not protect any citizen who chooses to violate the regulations of a foreign port. Consequently, the naval officer has been withdrawn from the *Crescent City*, and the mails also. But not to be thwarted by the federal authority, the New York sympathisers have resolved to send out the *Cherokee* to Havannah with Purser Smith on board. Her commander is a merchant captain. She goes as a private vessel; if she break the regulations of the port of Havannah, as things stand, she will be captured probably; and the United States Government will not interfere. But it

must be remembered that circumstances may force them, should the Spanish or American officials overstep their bounds of duty.

There has been a statement in the Spanish papers, that several French and English war steamers at Havannah had offered their services to Cañedo. But this does not accord with the assurances of the *Times*, that England, at all events, will not interfere in the matter.

#### LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

##### LETTER LI.

Paris, December 14, 1852.

THE Bonapartes are eagerly dividing the rich spoils of France. They are rivaling each other in dexterously appropriating whatever palaces they like best. Louis Bonaparte, of course, takes the Tuileries; Jérôme has awarded himself the Palais Royal; Napoleon, his son, the Elysée; and the Princess Mathilde the Louvre. The *Moniteur*, too, publishes a list of all the estates, châteaux, and palaces that constitute the domain of the Crown. Strasbourg figures in the list. *Boulogne*, it would seem, has been forgotten.

The discussion in the Senate on the Civil List has been animated in the extreme. General Magnan proposed thirty millions: the Senate with one voice resisted that exorbitant figure; and by way of a *per contra*, a certain number of senators proposed to accord no more than twenty millions. In the end, however, the sum so long announced was decided upon. His Imperial Majesty is to have 25 millions.

There are, as I have told you, the Princes of the Imperial family, and Princes *tout court*. The *Senatus-Consulte*, recently presented, declares that there shall be only three Princes of the Imperial family—to wit, Louis Bonaparte himself, old Jérôme, and his son, Napoleon: all the other Bonapartes are Princes *tout court*. Old Jérôme, who never forgets himself, is to have a dotation of two millions of francs (80,000*l.*), the Palais Royal for a residence in winter, and Meudon in summer. Besides, he will be appointed Grand Admiral, with from two to three hundred thousand francs salary. His son, Napoleon, is to be heir-presumptive of the Crown; and the understanding is, that he shall have the Vice-Royalty of Algeria, under the title of Lieutenant of the Emperor ("Imperatoris Legatus," as it was called in the Roman Empire).

This *Senatus-Consulte* is already voted, but not yet published. I cannot say as much for the *Senatus-Consulte*, which modifies the Constitution. This measure has met with the strongest opposition within the Senate. Many of the senators wout hear of accepting an allowance of 30,000 francs, which, from its fixed character, say they, would have the appearance of robbing them of their independence. What do you think of therodomontading delicacy of these *sacripants*? Others object to the allowance of 6000 francs to the deputies. They fear the reproach against the Imperial Constitution of bribing and buying the representatives of the people. Indeed, several of the deputies themselves are offended at this posthumous liberality. One of them has even sent in his resignation. But the graver side of the matter has yet to be exposed. You are aware that Louis Bonaparte, faithful to the imperial traditions, and in spite of his assurances that no serious modifications would be introduced into the Constitution, has proposed to suppress the few surviving prerogatives of the Corps Législatif. Ever since 1815, the Legislative body has been in the habit of voting the Budget by special estimates for every separate head of expenditure, so that no minister could exceed the sum granted. This important right, so long disputed, had the effect of restricting the power of Ministers, and by forcing them to keep within precise limits, placed the agents of the Executive at the discretion of the Chambers. To render this control more secure and more effective, the Chambers had successively narrowed more and more closely the special limitations, by subdividing the heads of estimates. For instance, the estimates of the Minister of War, which in 1827 were contained under seven heads, are now divided into more than thirty. Moreover, to make the application of the principle of *speciality* more rigorously exact, the Chambers had got to vote the estimates of each department by separate items. Now the *Senatus-Consulte* recently presented, in contempt of the Constitution of January 14, upsets all that arrangement. Bonaparte insists on substituting for the former article of the Constitution on this subject the following:—The Corps Législatif discusses and votes the Budget *par ministère*. Now the vote *par ministère* upsets altogether the control of an elective assembly, and destroys the importance of its financial resolutions. Any Minister, as soon as the amount of his Budget is voted, can move at his ease within the limits of that credit, by reducing the expenditure granted, and by appropriating more or

less to other expenditure for which no credit has been opened, or by augmenting other items of expenditure already estimated to an indefinite extent. Thus, for example, if a reduction of 100,000 men on the active force of the army were decided upon, under the system of special heads of estimates, the head of "Pay" would appear diminished in proportion to that reduction, and the same would appear under the other heads relative to the maintenance of the forces. On the other hand, according to the system of voting the estimates *par ministère*, the Minister of War having obtained a grant of three or four hundred millions (of francs) for his department, can spend them as he will. He can levy 600,000 men instead of 400,000, if he please; and for that purpose he will only have to apply the 400 millions (of francs) of his Budget integrally to the *personnel*, by diverting the grant for the *matériel* (more than 100 millions of francs); or, on the contrary, he choose to disband 100,000 men, he may pocket about 100 millions of francs, without anybody knowing a word about it. This is a very comfortable system, you see; *cela sent son Mandarin d'une lieue*. We are in the enjoyment of a régime of loaded dice, and all the rest *va de suite*—elections, estimates—why not even *écus*? Now this modification of the Constitution aroused a serious opposition in the Senate.

The Marquis d'Audiffret, one of our high fiscal authorities, whose whole public life has been spent in the attempt to establish order and control in the finances of the State, protested ardently in his committee against the proposed modification. Three ministers rose to grapple with him, but he crushed them all by the force of his reasoning, and the strength of his convictions. He was unanimously appointed by his bureau one of the commissaires to make a report on the *Senatus-Consulte*. In other bureaux the discussion attacked other points equally important. One of the consequences of voting the Budget *par ministère*, is to take out of the hands of the Chamber all control over public works. On this subject, one senator was so bold as to say, "that when he saw the jobbing (*des tripotages*) that had disgraced the Bourse, to the disgust of all France, during the last two months, he regarded it as a real danger for the country to adopt the article which removed from the Corps Législatif the examination of great works of public utility—such as mines, railways, &c. Never," he added, "will a French Assembly, however devoted, allow itself to be so treated; and if this article is passed, my conviction is, that the existing Chamber of Deputies will not reach the conclusion of its mandate. Before two years it will have to be dissolved." A third point excited indignant remonstrances. Among other prerogatives of the Crown, Bonaparte reserves to himself the right of signing treaties of commerce, as well as treaties of peace; and all this without control, and without having to render any account, either to the Senate or the Corps Législatif. This third assumption drew loud cries of dissent from certain representatives of the manufacturing interest. M. Lebeuf, the manufacturer of pottery, rose with extreme vivacity to oppose a prerogative which attributes to the Emperor a positive commercial autocracy. He reminded the Chamber that, even in the time of Louis XIV., there was a *Bureau de Commerce*, which was always consulted. The fiery senator fastened on M. Baroche himself, and undertook to prove to that personage that, even with great political capacity, it was possible to combine complete ignorance of industrial matters. A fourth modification is also proposed, to restrain the rights of the Corps Législatif; the speeches of deputies were not allowed to be printed in full, neither in the *Moniteur* nor in the other journals. A simple analysis of them only appeared in the *Moniteur*.

This analysis is to be further cut down to a mere summary of a few lines, in which not even the names of the orators will be mentioned. One would suppose that Bonaparte apprehended the apparition of a Mirabeau in the chamber of his own nomination. In fine, a fifth point was raised in this discussion of the *Senatus-Consulte*. Formal interpellations were addressed by General Husson to Fould, the banker-minister, on the jobbing (*des tripotages*) of the Bourse. General Husson openly reproached M. Fould in the presence of the whole Senate, with the immense disturbance in the financial world created by the affair of the Bank of Moveable Credit, which he expressly characterized as a "dirty scheme of a few jobbers."

As everybody knows that the entourage of Bonaparte have won about twenty millions of francs in this "dirty scheme of a few jobbers," you may imagine that the senators, when they heard General Husson make use of these formidable terms, which struck much higher than M. Fould, sat for some minutes petrified with amazement! It is to-day, notwithstanding, that the Senate is to vote all the divers *Senatus-consultes*

\* Sale et personnelle affaire.



submitted to its judgment: no doubt it will obey orders. This crew would lick the dirty boots of their master to do him pleasure. You may expect any depth of servility from such men. Yet, as I write these last words, I am assured that the Senate has timidly hesitated a desire to be consulted by the Emperor in all his acts. If this be confirmed, I will most gladly make the *amende honorable* to these servitors à plat ventre of all régimes. For the present, I adhere to my expressions.

The recognitions of the new régime by foreign powers arrive in succession. Great Britain was one of the first to recognise the Empire. The three Powers of the North will, I am told, present their simultaneously, and in exactly identical terms. Perhaps this is an indirect and delicate hint to Bonaparte to be a good boy and not provoke a whipping! The official journal of Vienna formally threw out this sort of menace; and I hear that Bonaparte was for a moment bitterly piqued. He even allowed an exclamation to escape him in company of several of his courtiers to this effect, "If Prince Schwarzenberg were still alive, we should understand each other better."

Another vexation for this great man *incompris*. You remember, I told you that Bonaparte had the pretension of composing his household exclusively of personages belonging to the old noblesse. This gentleman modestly designed the descendants of the Crusaders for his *valets de chambre*. He addressed himself successively to M. le Duc de Mortemart, to whom he proposed the title of Marshal of France, and Grand Marshal of the Palace, to M. le Duc de Mouchy, to M. le Duc de Bauffremont, and to the Duc de Guiche. All the four successively declined the honour. Bonaparte then, unmasking the secret object of his wishes, simply proposed to the wives of these gentlemen to be ladies in waiting to the Empress. The beautiful Duchesse de Mouchy sharply replied to him "that he should have waited till he had an Empress to make the proposal." To appreciate all the mordant of this reply, you should know that on that very morning the report was current, and is so still, that the marriage with the Princess Wasa was definitively broken off, and that Bonaparte was obliged to lower his pretensions, (*de se rabattre sur un plus maigre gibier*.)

An immense activity is observable at the Ministries of War and the Marine. Orders are being sent off every day to all the *chefs de corps* to get up the warlike spirit of the soldiers. In all the military and naval arsenals all is movement. Just now, a new system of artillery, devised by the Emperor, is being experimented upon in the various *polygones*. This system consists in reducing to a single calibre all the various field-pieces, which are now composed of four different calibres—pieces of four, light artillery; pieces of eight, artillery of the line; pieces of twelve, artillery of reserve; and six-inch howitzers. The uniform calibre proposed by Bonaparte is to be that of twelve. Now to make you understand all the importance of this change, I should add, that these pieces of twelve carry 1600 yards, while the other pieces carry only from 800 to 1000 yards. These experiments, I repeat, are being actively carried on. Don't be too confident in our voracious Emperor's pacific assurances. It may be that, some morning, all Europe will awake (as Paris did on the 2nd of December) to find the army of Paris on the frontiers of the Rhine. There are sober people who believe in this eventuality, as they do in to-morrow's sunrise. Besides this change of system in the artillery, an equally grave modification is proposed in our present recruiting system. According to the existing law, 80,000 men are enlisted every year, for seven years service—just one quarter of the actual male population. In the new system, the *entire male population* would be called upon to serve; but instead of serving for a period of seven years, the men destined for the infantry would only serve one year. As to the men destined for special corps, such as cavalry, artillery, engineers, grenadiers, and imperial guard, they will remain in service, some eight, the others seven years. The soldiers discharged will be liable to be recalled to serve until they are thirty-three years of age. Here is the formidable levy we should be able to take the field with at any given moment:—1st, The army actually in service, 400,000 men; 2nd, Reserve of twelve classes, from twenty-one years of age to thirty-three, 280,000 men, in each class—3,360,000 soldiers for the twelve classes; general total, 3,760,000 men. There is enough, and more than enough, to sweep the world!

Meanwhile, Bonaparte and his friends are not neglecting their little pecuniary interests. The project of re-establishing the gambling-houses and the lotteries, which I mentioned months ago, and which was only arrested by the remonstrances of the clergy, has been resumed. Doctor Véron, who was the promoter of the original scheme, is to have no share in the present one.

The immediate *entourage* is to have all the secret profits of the operations. The State will have the remainder. The company is already formed: it is to be worked in shares. A subvention of seven millions (of francs) will be paid by the company to the State for the exploitation, which (subject to intervening arrangements) will commence in January next, at four chief establishments:—1. 113, Palais Royal. 2. In an hotel in the Place Vendôme. 3. In a house on the Boulevard des Italiens. 4. In the Faubourg St. Honoré. The details are precise, you perceive.

A provisional commercial treaty has been signed with Belgium. Belgium having, as you are aware, consented to prosecute judicially the press for attacks against Bonaparte, the Emperor has condescended to take off the surtax of ten per cent. on Belgian coal and iron.

A commercial treaty with England is also spoken of. Bonaparte only waits for the promulgation of the *Senatus-Consulte*, which is to accord to him absolute omnipotence in matters of commercial treaties, to sign the project with England. English coal is to be admitted into France at a minimum duty. We are not yet informed whether there will be any compensation on the English side in the shape of a reduction of duties on French wines.

The system of severe measures is still in force. There has been an amnesty, *on paper*, for offences of the press. Meanwhile, two editors are still in prison. As to "warnings," they have begun again. A legitimist paper of Angers, *L'Union de l'Ouest*, has been the first to enjoy the honour. Domestically visits are paid to all the printing-houses, in the hope of seizing certain clandestine writings which annoy his Majesty the Emperor. Printers, masters and workmen alike, are whisked off from their homes in the dead of night, thrown into solitary confinement, and examined separately.

Such municipal councils as omitted to keep holiday on the 5th of December, the day of the inauguration of the Emperor, are dissolved. This has been the fate of the municipal council of Frontignan, who took the liberty not to vote a distribution of bread to the poor on that day, after receiving express orders to that effect from the Minister of the Interior. S.

#### CONTINENTAL NOTES.

M. CHAVOIX, ex-representative of the people, has written to the *Pays* to deny the authorship of a letter imputed to him, accepting in very humble and submissive terms the gracious "pardon" of the Emperor. This letter, which was published very conspicuously in all the Government journals, was a forgery. "I neither wrote it nor signed it; I know not who is the author," says M. Chavoix. Not a single person of note has yet accepted the general conditional amnesty of the Government.

By a decree of the Emperor, the administration of the Civil List and of the dotation of the Crown, is confided to M. Achille Fould, who takes the title of Minister of State and of the Household of the Emperor. He is charged to establish, on the proposition of the high functionaries of the household, the general budget, and submit it to the approbation of the Emperor, and all the expenses of the household will be paid by the treasurer on the order of the Minister. He will have the general management of the revenues of the Crown, and of the Civil List, of whatever kind they may be.

On Sunday, the 12th inst., the Emperor gave a grand military dinner at the Tuileries to the marshals of France and the general and other officers commanding corps in the army of Paris. All the Ministers were present.

Abd-el-Kader has left Amboise. He arrived in Lyons on the night of the 12th inst., and was to resume his journey without delay for Marseilles, but at the instance of General de Castellane, he consented to pass Monday in that city.

M. Ducos contradicts the report of his reply to a deputation from the maritime departments, on the increased naval armaments of England. In like manner the speech of the chairman at the dinner of the Ecole Militaire is pronounced to be a fabrication. We cannot, however, forget that the denials of the present French Government have proved as trustworthy as its assertions and its promises. At present it is convenient to deny—that is all.

The Paris correspondent of the *Globe*, writing last Wednesday, tells a pretty story of Louis Napoleon, which will win the hearts of all mothers; and to prove our willingness to give even—the Emperor his due, here is the story, for what it is worth. It reads well.

"A curious incident occurred yesterday in the garden of the Tuileries whilst the Emperor was walking there. A little girl, who was with her father, exclaimed, 'Oh, how I should like to touch the Emperor's hand!' The Emperor heard her, and called her to him. The little girl was led to him by the father, and the Emperor, taking her by the hand, walked with her to the Tuileries, where he made her a present of an elegant bonbon box as a souvenir of their acquaintance."

There has been an important debate in the Belgian Chamber on the budget of public instruction. M. Verhaegen, one of the founders of Belgian nationality, insisted that, as there was no state religion in Belgium, the national schools should not be under exclusive Roman-catholic direction. During this discussion, M. de Montalembert was in one of the reserved galleries.

The Second Chamber of the States-General of Holland has adopted the conversion of the Four per Cent. Rentes into Three-and-Three-Quarters, at 99, or Three-and-a-Half at 97, at the option of the Government.

The Parisian correspondent of the *Independence Belge* pretends that the reason of the precipitate recognition of the Emperor by Naples, was the desire of Naples to secure French aid against English designs on Sicily. Meanwhile, it is reported that Lucien Murat has made a demand on the Neapolitan Government of twenty millions of francs, and already talks of the "throne of his ancestors."

Important modifications of the Constitutional system in Prussia have been submitted to the Chambers. The intention of the Government is to abolish the principle of annual Parliamentary sessions and of annual budgets, and to remodel the First Chamber upon a normal basis of prerogative, by vesting the right of nominating members, hereditarily or temporarily, according to birth, property, or position, exclusively in the Crown. A quasi-restoration of certain feudal provincial privileges abolished in 1848, by a completely new code of provincial, district, municipal and communal law, is also announced. These measures were signified to the Chambers, with very little paraphrase, by the Minister of the Interior, on the 8th inst.

It is said that in consideration of eventualities, Austria and Prussia have come to an understanding to sink their commercial rivalries for awhile, and the maintenance of the Prussian Zollverein for the next twelve years is considered certain.

The Austrian musket, writes the Roman correspondent of the *Daily News*, continues to enforce attachment and fidelity to the imperial banner. Five more soldiers of the Hungarian regiment now in garrison at Ancona were shot on the morning of the 4th for desertion. Thus a considerable number of men have suffered death since the arrival of the regiment from Bologna, where many had already been shot for the same offence. The poor fellows apparently serve the chivalrous Emperor with no great good will, since they risk and frequently meet their death in order to escape from his trammels. The wine shops resound with their revolutionary songs, and cheers for Hungary and Italy—a spirit which excites such distrust in the Austrian general, that he allows none of the soldiers to quit the town singly, only regular parties can pass the gates.

The state of affairs in Spain is becoming, to use a French expression, "very strained." The Duc de Sotomayor has been prevented holding meetings at his house. General Narvaez has been sent out of Spain into honourable exile, to "examine military archives at Vienna."

Pronunciamentos at Barcelona and other important towns, are apprehended.

The Roman States are infested with brigands.

The Bank of Constantinople refuses to receive the paper money of the state. This decision has produced an immense sensation. A monetary crisis is considered imminent.

The Turkish government has prohibited navigation of the Bosphorus by foreign steamers. The service is to be exclusively performed by Turkish steamers. The Austrian Lloyd's Company has protested against this measure. It is said that the Turkish government has purchased ten steamers in England.

Piracy has become so formidable in the Archipelago, that trade in those waters is almost at an end, the maritime insurance companies refusing any longer to insure vessels.

A Turkish ship had been seized by pirates within sight of Smyrna, and all the passengers and crew had been put to death. From Syria we learn that neither the Seraskier nor the Druses being able to claim the victory, after much marching, and some fighting they had concluded an armistice. It was proposed to reduce the Druses by negotiation.

The Prince of Montenegro has issued a decree threatening exile to all those of his subjects who should refuse to take arms against the Turks. Various skirmishes had taken place with the Turkish troops, and a decisive battle was expected. The Pacha of Scutari had taken the field, at the head of 10,000 men, against the Montenegrines.

#### AMERICAN GOSSIP.

In the *New York Tribune* of the 1st instant, we have a detailed account of Thackeray's third lecture, on "Steele, and the Times of Queen Anne." As before, the audience was crowded, and an announcement was made previous to the lecture that the course would be repeated, so that those persons who could not obtain tickets for the first delivery might have an opportunity of hearing them. We conclude that the critic in the *New York Herald*, who fell into a fit of abusive delirium on hearing Mr. Thackeray's first lecture, is in a very small minority. Mr. Gordon Bennett was in Europe when Thackeray sailed; did he leave instructions to abuse the great novelist; or has the critic acted without orders?

Another of our European celebrities, Sontag, is drawing crowded audiences in New York. That so accomplished an artist has found her concerts really popular in that city, augurs well for the decay of musical clap-trap there as a lucrative branch of commerce.

We quote the following from the *Tribune*:—"Mr. Perczel, who was deputed by a large number of Hungarians, in Jersey, England, and Paris, to act for them, made a purchase last month of two townships, situated near Davenport, in Iowa, for a Hungarian colony, and in the spring the great body of the purchasers design emigrating to this country and settling upon their purchases. Among the number is General Moritz Perczel. Each person in indigent circumstances will

be furnished with forty acres of land, at the Government price, on credit."

The American papers notice the invention of a new sewing machine; which, it is said, will be to needlewomen what the power-loom was to the hand-loom weavers. There is more than one article on the subject in the *Tribune*. Tailors and sempstresses raise objections to the new machines, on the ground that the sewing is not durable, but a writer in the *Tribune* declares that he has seen shoes and shirts made with the machine; and that the sewing is perfectly satisfactory. These machines are in extensive use. The *Tribune* enumerates no less than six different kinds.

#### THE GOLD FIELDS.

THE news from Melbourne of the 7th of September, brought by the Overland Mail, corroborates the reports of newly discovered gold fields, and of ever increasing productiveness in the old diggings. The remunerative character of the Echuunga gold field, within twenty miles of Adelaide, South Australia, is established beyond doubt. The existence, too, of a large and rich gold field at Bengara, 180 miles N. by W. of Maitland, New South Wales, is again confirmed by the latest advices; so that it is now proved by actual events, that a vast belt of highly auriferous land extends across the Australian continent, from the Victoria gold fields to those of Bathurst and its neighbourhood, and thence to the banks of the Hunter, and the back of Moreton Bay, a distance of about 400 miles. The actual width of this belt is unknown, but the portion of it already explored averages more than 150 miles; hence the known auriferous portion of Australia comprises an area of more than 80,000 square miles. The New South Wales diggings continue to be deserted for those of Victoria, chiefly from the influence of the gregarious spirit which prevails among diggers, but also in consequence of the periodical floods, which have been unusually great this year, and have done much damage to life and property at Turon, Braidwood, and elsewhere. From October, 1851, to the end of August, 1852, the exports have brought into Melbourne and Trelong, the astonishing amount of 1,771,974 ounces of gold, or between 73 and 74 tons. Even this enormous quantity does not represent the whole quantity raised in the province in these eleven months, and which is estimated at not less than 105½ tons, worth upwards of ten millions sterling. The social condition of Victoria is still represented as deplorable in the extreme. Of the Government it is stated in very strong terms, that it wants perseverance, energy, and wisdom, and that its "laxity, parsimony, and absolute imbecility" have done the colony incalculable harm. Crimes of the most fearful character and degree abound on all sides. Highway robbery and burglary in broad daylight are common even in the towns. Murders are numerous, and remain almost always unpunished. The police are cowed, or are in league with the ruffians, and the administration of the law is fast sinking into contempt. Next to an efficient police force, an importation of female servants is urgently wanted in Victoria. The small proportion of female immigrants landed this year in the colony has been absorbed by the brisk demand for wives. We are assured that the splendour of a digger's wedding is sometimes rather startling. Young Irish orphan girls, who scarcely knew the luxury of a shoe until they put their bare feet on the soil of Victoria, lavish money in white satin at 10s. or 12s. a yard for their bridal dresses, and flaunt out of the shop slamming the door, because the unfortunate store-keeper does not keep the *real* shawls at 10 guineas a-piece! What a blessing for our London shopkeepers if they could but catch such customers!

#### DANCING INTERDICTED AT ROTHERHAM.

ACCORDING to a report in the *Daily News*, which from private letters we believe to be generally correct, Rotherham and Sheffield have been thrown into a ferment by the novel conduct of the Reverend R. Mosely, vicar of Rotherham. It appears that it has been customary for the fashionables of Rotherham and the neighbourhood to hold a subscription dress ball in the month of December, and this year it was announced to take place on Thursday, December 16, under the stewardship of three of the West Riding magistrates, and the gentry of the town and district. Last week the Reverend Mr. Mosely wrote to the editor of one of the Sheffield papers, in which the advertisement of the intended ball had been inserted, inquiring by whose authority the names of the stewards had been published, as he had reason to suspect that the names had been inserted in the advertisement by the committee without authority. The editor at once answered the vicar's note, and referred him to the ball committee; and from them the vicar ascertained that the names had been published with consent. Accordingly, on Sunday morning last the vicar entered the pulpit and

read the advertisement of the ball from the newspaper, and laid particular emphasis upon certain stewards' names. He also read the correspondence which had taken place between himself and the editor of the Sheffield newspaper, and held up the stewards and the ball to ridicule and contempt before the congregation, who were considerably amazed at the bare mention of the circumstance of the ball in a parish church. The congregation were much annoyed, and several attempted to leave the church, but were solicited not to do so; others were convulsed with laughter, and the congregation were in a state of the greatest consternation. The stewards felt themselves aggrieved, and they, along with the ball committee, held a private meeting at the Crown Hotel, Rotherham, to take into consideration the conduct of the vicar. They passed a resolution giving him the opportunity of making a public apology through the same medium in which he had given the offence, and, if he should decline to make any reparation, further proceedings will be taken. If the interdiction be not removed, it will make a pretty case for a law court.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

Osborne is, while we write, still the abode of the Queen; who, with the Prince and the children, seems to enjoy the sea air and delightful scenery of their island home. But no doubt they will spend Christmas at Windsor. Lord Raglan and Lord Derby have been on a visit to the Queen this week.

Lord Palmerston has been unwell ever since the Budget was propounded. He keeps his room, suffering from the gout, and is unable to attend the evening parties given by Lady Palmerston. Probably he will recover when the vote on the first item in the Budget has been taken, at least, people maliciously associate the gout and the Budget, and talk of Chatham, who assumed the gout when politically convenient. Has he been concocting a new Budget?

Lord Carlisle delivered an interesting lecture on the Poetry of Gray at the Sheffield Mechanics' Institution on Tuesday. The lecture was elegant, kindly, and abounding in choice selections from the poet, but not new. It is pleasant to see popular lecturers coming out of the aristocratic classes: another proof of the real levelling tendency of the age—the levelling upward.

The Duke of Cambridge has presented an ox for the Christmas Festival to the Poor, conducted by the Leicester-square Soup Kitchen, which will be roasted, and served out on Christmas-day. The Lord Mayor, also, has presented to the City Hospice a quarter of an ox, towards affording the committee the means to carry out their intention of feeding the destitute poor on the same festive day.

Lord Dudley Stuart and Mr. Oliveira, M.P., attended the celebration of the 28th anniversary of the London Mechanics' Institution, in Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane, on Monday. It was founded by Dr. Birkbeck.

The Polish ball, held at the Guildhall on Wednesday, was attended with great success.

Admiral Sir Thomas Briggs, commander-in-chief at Portsmouth, died, on Thursday, after a few days' illness.

Professor Empson, of Haylebury, and editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, died on Friday week.

Mr. Ballantine, for many years the presiding magistrate at the Thames police-office, died on Tuesday.

The will of the late Earl of Shrewsbury has been proved, and the personal property sworn under 100,000*l*. It directs that out of this amount there shall be paid, 500*l*. to the Rev. Thomas Doyle, 500*l*. to the Rev. Daniel Rock, 150*l*. to the Rev. Dr. Winter, and there are some other legacies to his sister, and to servants. The Earl has directed the whole of his estates at Alton, Farley, and elsewhere, to be converted into money, the whole of the proceeds, together with the residue of his personal property, to be given to Mr. Ambrose Lisle Phillips, of Grace Dieu Manor, Leicestershire, and Mr. C. Scott Murray, of Dancesfield, Buckinghamshire, both of whom it will be remembered succeeded from the Church of England, some years since, and joined the communion of the church of Rome. This has afforded a subject for speculation. By the Mortmain Act no sum exceeding 500*l*. can be left for religious purposes, and it is therefore generally believed that although this large amount of property has been left unconditionally to Mr. Phillips and Mr. Murray, there is a tacit understanding that it is hereafter to be applied to the benefit of the Roman Catholic church. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that in a will made some time ago, the whole of his lordship's property was left to Dr. Walsh, and in the event of his decease to Cardinal Wiseman; but this was revoked by a codicil in favour of Messrs. Phillips and Murray, who are to divide the property equally between them.

According to the latest accounts from China, the rebel chief Tien-teh was still successfully heading his revolutionary army in its march to power.

The *Melbourne* arrived at St. Vincent's on the 28th of November, in her outward passage. The captain reports that all is now satisfactory.

Mr. Bruce, of Dyffryn, has been elected without opposition at Merthyr, vacant by the death of Sir John Guest. Mr. Bruce is a nephew of Sir Lewis Knight Bruce.

The seat in Lord Hertford's borough of Lisburne has been sought by Mr. Inglis, the Derbyite Lord Advocate of Scotland, and an independent conservative, Mr. Smyth. Lord Hertford's nominee has been beaten by a few votes, and Lisburne crowns on its independence.

A public meeting of the Economic Freehold Land Association, on Monday evening, was held in the Literary Institution, John-street, Fitzroy-square, for the purpose of

explaining the objects of this association. Mr. William Coningham, President, in the chair. Mr. George Bird, Mr. C. F. Nicholls, Mr. James Rigby, and Mr. Cramp, addressed the meeting in explanation of the objects of the Association. At the close of the meeting a considerable number of new shares were taken up.

Dissatisfied with the Budget, a body of Jamaica proprietors met at Willis's Rooms on Tuesday. Mr. Grund, one of the delegates from the island, submitted a memorial on the state of Jamaica for presentation to Lord Derby. This pacific course did not satisfy a proprietor named Smith. He proposed a resolution, stating "that the time had arrived when the Assembly of Jamaica should refuse to levy any further taxes on the ruined inhabitants of that island until the Government of this country consented to afford them that relief to which they were justly entitled." The bellicose party were quieted after a smart discussion, by the assurance that "something would shortly be done for Jamaica;" and the memorial of grievances was carried.

The first general meeting of the members of the newly-established Freehold Land Society was held at the Freemasons' Tavern. Viscount Ranelagh presided, and was supported by many minor lights of the late Protectionist party, such as Lord Alfred Churchill, Mr. J. W. Benson, M.P.; Sir C. W. Codrington, Bart., M.P.; Mr. T. W. Booker, M.P.; Mr. Henry Pownall, and other gentlemen. The Chairman stated that shares representing a capital of 75,000*l*. had been issued, and 11,000*l*. had been actually received. The average number of shares held by subscribers was two per head. Deputations from the executive committee, accompanied by the secretary, had visited in succession Norwich, Brentford, Kingston-upon-Thames, Croydon, Reigate, Hampstead, Ipswich, Chelmsford, Colchester, Great Yarmouth, Gravesend, Greenwich, Woolwich, Deptford, Rochester, Stratford, Derby, Nottingham, Liverpool, Putney, and Ealing with the most satisfactory results. The position of the society was primarily defensive. The counties in which the influence of opposite societies at the present moment was most prevalent were Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Herts, Essex, Beds, Bucks, Norfolk, and several others. As a first step towards counteracting such influence, the property at Putney, on the banks of the Thames, called "The Cedars," the adjoining property, lately the site of the College of Civil Engineers, and also the Rectory estate in the middle of the town of Ealing, in Middlesex, had been purchased.

The Birmingham cattle show has been held this week. It was very successful. The stock was excellent, and the variety of crosses, especially in sheep, great. Poultry, as usual, attracted the greatest share of attention; and sales were effected to the amount of 1100*l*. The prices for single birds were enormous; and the competition for some of them beyond all precedent.

Several ruffians, implicated in garrotte robberies and daring burglaries in the northern counties have been convicted this week in the assize courts. This practice of garrotting is now so common that severe punishment is needful to arrest its extension. It is the English equivalent for Thuggism.

The body of a man murdered by a stab through the eye and brain, reaching as far as the back of the head, has been found on the public road near the western borders of the Forest of Dean. He had previously been seen drinking in company with a man named Greenhaf, now in custody.

Mr. Daniel Donovan, a Roman Catholic priest, has been convicted of assault upon a woman named Murphy, a convert to Protestantism, who took relief in Bermondsey from ministers of both religions. According to the evidence, Donovan called on Mrs. Murphy, and reproached her for having her infant child baptised by a Protestant minister. Growing angry, he struck her slightly three times with his umbrella, and desired her landlady to turn her out of the house. The landlady took away the bed, and the poor woman had to sleep on the floor. Donovan was found guilty of the assault, but recommended to mercy. He was fined 5*l*.; which was paid amid the howling of the women in the court. Both Donovan and Murphy had to be conveyed away privately.

Figures, omnipotent as they are to the minds of the Cockers of this planet, are not so to all men. A sad instance of this occurred on Monday. Mr. Leechall was a stationer in Budge-row. He was rich, and would not believe it. Figures, plainly showing prosperity, seemed to him indicative of the Bankruptcy Court; he read "80,000*l*. in stock, and 50,000*l*. in bills" as unquestionable signs of failure. He had no wife to set him right. On Monday, he rose early, went to his warehouse in Budge-row, and shot himself with a rifle pistol; bought originally to defend himself against the Chartists on the 10th of April, 1848. Of course, the jury found a verdict of temporary derangement.

Mr. Martin, the station-master at Heyford when the late fatal accident happened there, has been dismissed.

John Caten was killed by a train at the King's Cross terminus on Tuesday. The train was moving slowly; it gently struck Caten; greatly frightened, instead of getting out of the way, he ran under the carriage.

Compensation to the amount of 2000*l*. has been obtained from the Brighton and South Coast Railway Company, for the loss to his family occasioned by the death of Mr. Groves, killed in an accident which, through the negligence of the driver, occurred near Arundel, in November, 1851.

There have been serious floods in North Wales. One man has been drowned, and a great deal of property destroyed. A mountain-lake near Great Penrhyn broke its bounds, and swept away many houses. A torrent ran through the streets of Bangor.

At the recent *fête* of the Golden Fleece, the Emperor of Austria wore the decoration of that order which formerly belonged to Charles of Burgundy, and which has in the centre the magnificent diamond considered to hold the third place amongst those existing, and which is worth a million of florins. The decoration, which was made part



of the coronation attire by the Archduke Maximilian, is preserved in the same room that contains the coronation robes of Charles the Great, and of the Emperor Napoleon as King of Italy.

#### HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

In last week's report it was shown that the mortality rose to 1045; from the returns for the week that ended last Saturday it appears that the deaths remained at nearly the same amount, having been 1012. In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1842-51 the average number was 1210, which, if raised in proportion to the increase of population, gives a mortality for the present time of 1331. Compared with this estimated amount, the deaths actually registered last week exhibit a satisfactory reduction; but it will be borne in mind that the average of the ten years is increased by influenza, which in the corresponding week of 1847 was fatal to 2416 persons.

In the last four weeks the total number of deaths returned have undergone considerable variation, these having been 922, 947, 1042, and 1012; but under the two principal heads, namely, "zymotic diseases" and "diseases of the respiratory organs," the rate of mortality has been remarkably uniform; zymotic or epidemic diseases in the aggregate produced in the several weeks 184, 207, 210, and 212 deaths, while those of the organs of respiration (exclusive of phthisis) caused 167, 172, 171, and 171 fatal cases. During the same periods hooping-cough alone of the diseases in the former class shows a steady disposition to increase, though it has not yet become fatal to any considerable extent; the numbers referred to it were 17, 20, 24, 34. In the same times scarlatina was fatal to 59, 72, 59, and 62 persons; typhus to 50, 37, 47, and 55. The mortality from small-pox continues low, and last week it was fatal in only two cases. Five persons died last week of influenza.

Last week the births of 810 boys and 769 girls, in all, 1579 children, were registered in London. In the seven corresponding weeks of the years 1845-51 the average number was 1371.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.520 in. The mean temperature of the week was 49.3 degs., which is 7.9 degs. above the average of the same week in ten years, and also 7 degs. higher than the temperature of the previous week. The mean daily temperature was above the average on every day of the week, and this excess on Sunday, Friday, and Saturday, amounted to 10 and 11 degs. The wind blew daily from the south-west. The amount of rain that fell in the week was 0.61 in.; and the mean difference between the dew point temperature and air temperature was 5.3 degs.

#### BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

##### BIRTHS.

On the 7th of December, at Melton Mowbray, the Hon. Mrs. Coventry: a son.  
On the 8th, at Summerhill, Kildermister, the Hon. Mrs. Cloughton: a daughter.  
On the 10th, at Easby-cottage, Twickenham, the wife of Commander Osborn, R.N.: a daughter.  
On the 11th, at Blackadder, Lady Houston Boswell: a son.  
At Worthing, the wife of Lieutenant-General Sir John Forster Fitzgerald, M.P.: a son.

##### MARRIAGES.

On the 1st of December, at St. George's Church, Dublin, by the Venerable the Archdeacon of Glandagh, William MacMurray, second son of Charles Clarke, Esq., of Rathdrum, county of Wicklow, late surgeon Twenty-first Fusiliers, to Harriet Wilhelmina McClinck, youngest daughter; and, at the same time, Edward, third son of Charles Clarke, Esq., to Anna Jane, eldest daughter of the late William Milligan, Esq., M.P., Sixth Enniskillen Dragoons, and of 4, Bentinck-terrace, Regent's-park, London.  
On the 7th, at St. George's Church, Hanover-square, Robert Roy Adams, Esq., Bengal Army, to Charlotte Frances, third daughter of Captain Bellow, Langley, Bucks, and granddaughter of the late Robert Bellow, Esq., Castle Martyr, Ireland.

On the 9th, at St. James's Church, Westminster, by the Very Rev. the Dean of Ely, Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Alexander Gordon, second son of the Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen, to Caroline Emilia Mary, eldest daughter of Sir J. F. W. Herschel, Bart.

On the 10th, at the parish church of Plumstead, Captain Codd, Adjutant of the West Kent Militia, late of the Seventeenth Foot, eldest son of the late Harrison Gordon Codd, Esq., of the Square, Kensington, to Sarah, daughter of James Russell, Esq., of Plumstead and Horton, Kent.

##### DEATHS.

On the 23rd of October, at Calcutta, of brain fever, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, Henry Chapman, Esq., one of the officers of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company's ship *Pottinger*, and son of Charles Chapman, surgeon, of Balham, Surrey, Esq.

On the 31st, at Queen's-house, Barbadoes, of virulent yellow fever, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, the Rev. Edward Dix Wood, M.A., second son of his Excellency Lieutenant-General Wood, C.B., Commander of the Forces in the Windward and Leeward Islands.

On the 10th of November, at Barbadoes, of yellow fever, after four days' illness, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Williams, Commanding the Royal Artillery in the West Indies, aged sixty.

On the 12th, on board H.M.S. *Danvers*, at Barbadoes, Arthur C. Couper, fourth son of Colonel Sir George Couper, Bart., of malignant yellow fever.

On the 8th of December, in his eightieth year, Richard Palmer, Esq., town clerk of Preston, and for fifty-three years one of the coroners for the county of Lancaster.

On the 7th, at Putney, Surrey, aged seventy, of influenza, Mrs. Frances M. H. Blood, widow of the late Neptune Blood, Esq., of Sloane-street.

On the 9th, at Newmarket, at the residence of his son, George Tattersall, Esq., aged sixty-one.

On the 9th, at Everton-crescent, Liverpool, in the ninety-third year of her age, Mrs. Yates, widow of the late William Yates, Esq., of Springside, Lancashire.

On the 9th, at his residence, 10, Argyl-place, Robert James Culverwell, Esq., M.D., aged 50.

On the 12th, Louisa Katharine, daughter of Colonel and Lady Laura Meyrick, in her 21st year.

On the 14th, at his residence, Cadogan-place, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, William Ballantine, Esq., for many years a magistrate of the Thames Police Court.

## Postscript.

SATURDAY, December 18.

#### RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS met last night. There was a large attendance of the members of the House of Commons in the galleries set apart for them; amongst others, we noticed Lord John Russell and some of his more immediate followers. The presence of a considerable number of strangers congregated behind the woolsack indicated great interest in the nature of the proceedings which were about to take place. The Earl of Lonsdale presented a petition from Whitehaven, from a mechanic's institute, praying for the free distribution of Parliamentary papers. And then the Earl of Malmesbury rose and said,—

My lords, in consequence of what took place in the House of Commons last night, with respect to the resolutions moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in consequence of the unavoidable absence of the Prime Minister, who has gone to see her Majesty at Osborne, I have to move that this House adjourn to Monday next.

Their lordships then adjourned.

#### THE MINISTRY.

The *Herald* of this morning informs us that Ministers have resigned.

"At an early hour yesterday morning (says our venerable contemporary) notices were forwarded to the various members of the Government to attend a Cabinet Council at the Foreign Office, at twelve o'clock. The noble Premier arrived a quarter of an hour after the time specified, when the rest of the Cabinet Ministers were in attendance, and the result of the division on Thursday night was, of course, taken into consideration. The result of the conference was a determination on the part of Ministers to tender their resignation to her Majesty; and accordingly, immediately after the rising of the Council, a telegraphic message was dispatched to the naval authorities at Gosport, directing a steamer to be in readiness to await the arrival of the express train that leaves London at three o'clock.

"The Earl of Derby left London by this train to tender the resignation of himself and his colleagues to the Queen, and it is supposed that his lordship will recommend to her Majesty to confide the formation of a new Administration to the Marquis of Lansdowne."

So far the *Herald*, not always the best informed journal in London. The *Times* mentions another name. The *Times* points to Lord Aberdeen as the man to fill the vacant post. After saying that the new ministry should include all shades of the Liberal party, and that the days of cliques are over, the leader proceeds—

"The materials of which a nobler and more energetic Government can be formed are abundant and various, and we repudiate the notion that it is possible either to revert to the decrepit combination which preceded Lord Derby's accession to power, or to strengthen that combination by a mere infusion of extreme Liberal opinions. The course of events, the state of parties, and the predominant convictions and desires of the country, point to the colleagues of the late Sir Robert Peel as the men from whom the Liberal party must now look for the most effectual assistance, in conjunction with whatever remains available of the last Whig administration. We may add that we have reason to believe that private communications have already taken place by which the principal obstacles to this union are removed; and we believe that it is upon the Earl of Aberdeen that the formation of the new Cabinet will devolve, with the active co-operation, not only of his former colleagues, but of Lord John Russell and the chiefs of the Whig party. The same delicate task of bringing together for the first time men not before associated by party ties might equally be entrusted to the Marquis of Lansdowne, whose experience, authority, and tact, perfectly qualify him for such a duty. But that veteran statesman has already taken a formal leave of official life, and although his counsels must ever have the greatest weight with the Liberal party, we do not anticipate that he will accept the most onerous position in the service of the Crown. Lord Aberdeen has, moreover, the advantage of being less shackled than any man of equal eminence by personal and party ties. If it should be his duty to distribute the chief offices of State, we have no doubt that he will do it with singleness of purpose and with an undivided regard for the public service. One of the inconveniences of such an Administration is no doubt the number of aspirants for office, some of whom must be content to see their opinions represented by more fortunate or more able competitors. But the essential point is, that the respective elements of such a Ministry should be fairly represented and evenly combined, since the places are not for the men, but the men for the places. The result, if it can be obtained, must be a wider range of opinion and observation, a more candid and correct estimate of the real opinions of the country, a more resolute superiority to the abuses and impediments of mere routine; and although a Government so constituted will find itself watched in the present Parliament by a strong Opposition, it will array on its side not only a very large proportion of the statesmanship and the eloquence of the House of Commons, but also the most temperate convictions and important interests of the whole community."

The *Daily News* publishes evidently a guess combination,—

First Lord of the Treasury . . .	Marquis of Lansdowne
Foreign Affairs . . .	Earl of Aberdeen
Home Office and Leader of the Commons . . .	Lord J. Russell
Colonies . . .	Sir J. Graham
Chancellor of the Exchequer . . .	Mr. Gladstone
Admiralty . . .	Mr. S. Herbert
Secretary-at-War . . .	Mr. Osborne
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland . . .	Duke of Newcastle
&c. . .	&c.
&c. . .	&c.

Lord Grey and Manchester are to be passed by. But this guess at a Cabinet agrees both with the statement of the *Herald* and the warm recommendations of the *Times*.

But it is significant that the *Morning Chronicle* ventures no suggestion; showing that whatever share the Peelites may have in the thickening negotiations, they choose to conceal their game. But we may ask, if Lord Palmerston was "master of the situation" a fortnight ago, where is he now, and why is he forgotten? He was forgotten in the Militia debate which gave office to Lord Derby; he was forgotten in the debate on the address. He is forgotten now. But we hear that his gout is wonderfully better now that the defeat on the Budget has cooled the political atmosphere. Parties must know, if they reflect, that he is an element which will have to be calculated. Lord Clarendon, too, is a name that can scarcely be omitted from any such combination as that suggested by the *Daily News*. And Mr. Cobden, from the judicious habit of silence on the subject of National Defence he has so recently acquired, may reasonably prefer a rival claim to that dashing Whig Hussar, Mr. Bernal Osborne, for the vacant post of the Right Hon. W. B. In case of his appointment, Mr. Bright would be Paymaster to the Forces. Of course, we shall see. Meanwhile, what an unpleasant entertainment for her Majesty's Christmas week—a Ministerial snapdragon!

#### THE DIVISION.

The question put on Thursday was the house-duty resolution—that the duty be doubled and extended to 104 houses.

##### AYES.

Acland, Sir T D	Du Pre, C G	Knock, Hon W S
Adderley, C B	East, Sir J B	Lacock, Sir E
Annesley, Earl of	Egerton, Sir P	Ladian, R M
Arbuthnot, General	Egerton, W T	Langton, W G
Archdall, Capt M	Egerton, E C	Lancelotti, Hon E
Arkwright, G	Evelyn, W J	Lennox, Lord A
Astell, J H	Farnham, E B	Lennox, Lord H
Bagge, W	Farrer, J	Leslie, C P
Baileir, Sir J	Fellows, E	Levisham, Viscount
Bailey, C	Ferguson, Sir R	Lindsay, Colonel
Baillie, H J	Filmer, Sir E	Lockhart, W
Baird, J	Fitzgerald, W R	Lopes, Sir R
Ball, E	Floyer, J	Lovaine, Lord
Baldock, E H	Follett, D S	Lowther, Colonel
Banks, G	Forbes, W	Lowther, Captain
Barrington, Viscount	Forster, Colonel	Lygon, Hon General
Barrow, W H	Forster, Sir G M	Lytton, Sir G B
Beckett, W	Franklyn, G W	Macartney, G
Benbow, J	Fraser, Sir W A	Macaulay, J
Bentinck, Lord H	Freshfield, J	Macgregor, James
Bentinck, G P	Frewen, C H	Maddock, Sir T
Beresford, W	Fuller, A E	Malins, R
Berkley, Sir G	Gallwey, Sir W	Mandeville, Visct
Bernard, Viscount	Galway, Viscount	Manners, Lord G
Blair, Col	Gaskell, J M	Manners, Lord J
Blandford, Marquis	George, J	March, Earl of
Boldero, Col	Gilpin, Colonel	Mare, C J
Booker, T W	Gipps, H P	Masterman, J
Booth, Sir R G	Gladstone, Captain	Maunsell, T P
Bramston, T W	Goddard, A L	Maxwell, Hon J P
Bremridge, E	Goold, W	Meux, Sir H
Briscoe, N	Gordon, Admiral	Michell, W
Brooke, Lord	Gore, W O	Miles, W
Brooke, Sir A B	Graham, Lord M	Miller, T J
Bruce, C L C	Granby, Marquis	Mills, A
Buller, Sir J Y	Greaves, E	Montgomery, H
Burghley, Lord	Greenall, G	Moore, R S
Burrell, Sir C	Grogan, E	Morgan, O
Burroughes, H	Gurney, Lord	Morgan, C R
Butt, G M	Hale, R B	Moulings, J B
Butt, I	Halford, Sir M	Mundy, W
Cabbell, B B	Hall, Colonel	Murrough, J P
Cairns, H M C	Halsey, T P	Naas, Lord
Campbell, Sir A I	Hamilton, Lord C	Napier, J
Carnac, Sir J R	Hamilton, G A	Need, John
Cayley, E S	Hamilton, J H	Need, Joseph
Chandos, Marquis	Hanbury, Hon C	Newark, Viscount
Chelsea, Viscount	Harcourt, Colonel	Newgate, C N
Child, S	Harding, Hon C S	Newport, Viscount
Cholmondeley, Ld H	Hayes, Sir E	Noel, Hon G J
Christopher, R A	Heard, J I	North, Colonel
Christy, S	Heneage, G H	Oakes, J H P
Clinton, Lord C	Henley, J W	Ossulston, Lord
Clive, Hon R H	Herbert, Sir T	Owen, Sir J
Clive, R	Herries, J C	Packer, C W
Cobbald, J C	Hildyard, R C	Pakenham, Captain
Cocks, T S	Hill, Lord A E	Pakington, Sir J
Codrington, Sir W	Hope, Sir J	Palmer, R
Coles, H B	Horsfall, T B	Parker, R T
Conolly, T	Hotham, Lord	Pescocoe, G M
Coote, Sir C	Hudson, G	Percy, Hon J W
Coory, H L	Hughes, W B	Phillips, J
Cotton, Hon W	Hume, W F	Pigot, R B
Cubitt, Alderman	Inglis, Sir R	Porter, M
Davies, D A S	Irons, S	Powlett, Lord W
Davison, R	Jocelyn, Viscount	Prime, R
Deedes, W	Johnstone, Hon H	Pugh, D
Dering, Sir E	Jolliffe, Sir W G	Repton, G W J
Diarelli, B	Jones, Captain	Robertson, P F
Dod, J W	Jones, D	Robt, F
Dodd, G	Kelly, Sir F	Rutland, Capt
Drax, J S W	Kendall, N	Russell, F W
Drummond, H	Ker, D S	Sanders, G
Du Cane, C	Kerrison, E O	Scott, Hon F
Duckworth, Sir J	King, J K	Seaham, Viscount
Duncombe, Hon O	Knatchbull, W F	Seymour, H K
Duncombe, Hon W	Knight, F W	Sibthorp, Col
Dunne, Colonel	Knightley, R	Smith, Sir F
	Knos, Colonel	

Smith, W M  
Smyth, R J  
Smollett, A  
Somerset, Captain  
Sotheron, T H  
Sponner, R  
Stafford, A  
Stanhope, J B  
Stanley, Lord  
Stephenson, R  
Stirling, W  
Sturt, H G  
Talbot, C R M  
Taylor, Colonel  
Taylor, H  
Thesiger, Sir F  
Thompson, Alderman  
Tollemache, J

Trollope, Sir J  
Tudway, R C  
Turner, C  
Tyler, Sir G  
Tyrell, Sir J T  
Vance, J C  
Vane, Lord A  
Vanistart, G H  
Verner, Sir W  
Villiers, Hon F  
Vivian, J E  
Vyse, R H R  
Waddington, D  
Walcott, Admiral  
Walpole, S H  
Walsh, Sir J B  
Welby, Sir G E

Wellasley, Lord C  
Whiteside, J  
Whitmore, H  
Wigram, L T  
Williams, T P  
Willoughby, Sir H  
Wodehouse, E  
Worcester, Marquis  
Wyndham, General  
Wyndham, W  
Wynn, H W W  
Wynn, Sir W E  
Wynne, Hon E T  
Yorke, Hon E T  
TELERS.  
Bateson, T  
Mackenzie, W F

## NOES.

A'Court, C H W  
Alcock, T  
Anderson, Sir J  
Anson, Hon Gen  
Armstrong, R B  
Atherton, W  
Baines, M T  
Ball, J  
Baring, H B  
Baring, Sir F T  
Barnes, T  
Bass, M T  
Beaumont, W B  
Bell, J  
Beller, Capt  
Berkeley, Adm  
Berkeley, Hon H F  
Berkeley, Hon C F  
Bethell, R  
Biddulph, R M  
Bigge, W  
Blackett, J F B  
Bonham-Carter, J  
Bouverie, Hon E  
Bowyer, G  
Boyle, Hon Col  
Bradley, J  
Brand, Hon H B  
Bright, J  
Brookhurst, J  
Brockman, E D  
Brotherton, J  
Brown, H  
Brown, W  
Brown, V  
Bruce, Lord E  
Bruce, H A  
Butler, C S  
Byng, Hon G H  
Carter, S  
Caulfield, Col  
Cavendish, Hon C  
Cavendish, Hon G  
Challis, Ald  
Chambers, M  
Chambers, T  
Chaplin, W J  
Charteris, Hon F  
Cheetham, J  
Clay, J  
Clay, Sir W  
Clifford, H M  
Clinton, Lord E  
Cobbett, J M  
Cobden, E  
Cockburn, Sir A  
Coffin, W  
Collier, R P  
Cowen, C  
Cowper, Hon W  
Cranford, E H J  
Crook, J  
Crosley, F  
Crowder, R B  
Currie, R  
Daishwood, Sir G  
Davie, Sir H R F  
Denison, E  
Denison, J E  
Devereux, J T  
Divett, E  
Drumlanrig, Vis  
Duff, G S  
Duff, J  
Duffy, C G  
Duke, Sir J  
Duncan, G  
Duncombe, T  
Dundas, F  
Dunlop, A M  
Dunne, M  
Eccles, W  
Ellie, E  
Ellie, E  
Elliot, Hon J E  
Emondie, J  
Euston, Earl of  
Evans, Sir De L  
Evans, W  
Ewart, W  
Fagan, W  
Ferguson, Col  
Ferguson, J  
Fitzgerald, J D  
Fitzgerald, Sir J  
Fitzroy, Hon H  
Fitzwilliam, Hon G W  
Foley, J H H  
Forster, M  
Forster, C  
Fortescue, C  
Fox, R M  
Fox, W J

## NOES.

Freeston, Col  
French, F  
Gardner, R  
Geach, C  
Gibson, T M  
Gladstone, W  
Glyn, G C  
Goderich, Vice  
Goodman, Sir G  
Goulburn, H  
Gower, Hon F L  
Grace, O D J  
Graham, Sir J  
Greene, J  
Gregson, S  
Grevelly, Col F  
Grosvenor, Lord R  
Hadfield, G  
Hall, Sir B  
Hammer, Sir J  
Harcourt, G G  
Hastie, Alex  
Hastie, Arch  
Headlam, T E  
Henchy, D O C  
Heneage, G F  
Herbert, H A  
Herbert, S  
Hervy, Lord A  
Higwood, J  
Higgins, G C E  
Hogg, Sir J W  
Howard, Hon C W  
Howard, Hon E  
Hume, J  
Hutchins, E J  
Hutt, W  
Ingham, R  
Jackson, W  
Jermyn, Earl  
Johnstone, J  
Johnstone, Sir J  
Keating, R  
Keating, H S  
Kennedy, T  
Keogh, W  
Kerhar, J  
King, Hon P J L  
Kingscote, R N  
Kinnaird, Hon A  
Kirk, W  
Labouchere, H  
Laing, S  
Langston, J H  
Langton, Hon G  
Laulett, W  
Lawless, Hon C  
Lawley, Hon F C  
Layard, A H  
Legh, G C  
Lemon, Sir C  
Lewis, Sir T F  
Locke, J  
Lockhart, A E  
Loveden, P  
Lowe, R  
Lucas, F  
Luce, T  
Macaulay, T B  
Macbie, J  
Mackinnon, W A  
McCann, J  
McGregor, J  
McMahon, P  
McTaggart, Sir J  
Magan, W H  
Maguire, J F  
Mangles, R D  
Marshall, W  
Martin, J  
Massey, W N  
Matheson, A  
Matheson, Sir J  
Maulie, Hon Colonel  
Meagher, T  
Miall, E  
Milligan, R  
Mills, T  
Miner, W M E  
Mines, R M  
Milton, Viscount  
Mitchell, T A  
Moffatt, G  
Molesworth, Sir W  
Monck, Viscount  
Monell, W  
Moore, G H  
Mostyn, Hon E  
Mulgrave, Earl of  
Munts, G F  
Mure, Colonel  
Murphy, F S  
Noreys, Lord

Norrey, Sir D J  
O'Brien, C  
O'Brien, P  
O'Brien, Sir T  
O'Connell, M  
O'Flaherty, A  
Oliveira, B  
Osborne, R  
Otway, A J  
Paget, Lord A  
Paget, Lord G  
Pechell, Sir G B  
Peel, F  
Peel, Colonel  
Pellatt, A  
Phillimore, J G  
Phinn, T  
Pigott, F  
Pilkington, J  
Pinney, W  
Pollard, Urquhart W  
Portman, Hon W  
Powers, R  
Power, N  
Price, Sir R  
Price W P  
Ricardo, O  
Rich, H  
Robartes, T J A  
Roche, E B  
Rumfeld, C E  
Russell, Lord J  
Russell, F C H  
Sadler, James  
Sadler, John  
Sawle, C B G  
Scholefield, W  
Schoell, Captain  
Scrope, G F  
Scully, F  
Scully, V  
Seymour, Lord  
Seymour, H D  
Seymour, W D  
Shafte, R D  
Shee, W  
Shelburne, Earl  
Shelley, Sir J V  
Sheridan, R B  
Smith, J A  
Smith, J B  
Smith, M T  
Smith, R V  
Stafford, Marquis of  
Stanley, Hon W  
Stansfield, W R  
Stapleton, J  
Strickland, Sir G  
Strutt, E  
Stuart, Lord D  
Sullivan, M  
Sutton, J H M  
Swift, R  
Thicknesse, R A  
Thompson, G  
Thornely, T  
Tomline, G  
Towneley, C  
Trall, G  
Tuffnell, H  
Trotter, Colonel  
Vane, Lord H  
Vernon, G E H  
Villiers, Hon C P  
Vivian, J H  
Vivian, H H  
Vyvyan, Sir R  
Wall, C B  
Walsley, Sir J  
Walter, J  
Warner, E  
Wells, W  
Whalley, G H  
Whistman, J  
Whitbread, S  
Wickham, H W  
Wilkinson, W A  
Wilcox, E M G  
Williams, W  
Wilson, J  
Wilson, M  
Winnington, Sir T E  
Wise, J A  
Wood, Sir C  
Wood, Sir W P  
Worley, J S  
Wrightson, W B  
Wyll, M  
Young, Sir J

TELERS.  
Hayter, W G  
Berkeley, G

## ANALYSIS OF THE DIVISION.

Majority (tellers included) . . . . .	307
Minority (tellers included) . . . . .	288
Paired . . . . .	28
Absent—Conservatives . . . . .	8
Liberals . . . . .	26
Chairman of Committees—Mr. W. Patten . . . . .	1
Seats Vacant—Carlisle County . . . . .	1
London . . . . .	4
Knarborough . . . . .	2
	654

# The Leader

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1852.

## Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—Dr. ANSOLD.

### THE NATIONAL PROSPERITY AND THE WORKING-MAN.

THE colliers and iron-men of South Staffordshire are causing obstruction to the staples of the country, by an obstinate demand for higher wages; and great is the indignation. It is hinted that we have been legislating long enough in favour of labour, and ought now to give capital a turn. But what has been the special legislation in favour of labour? Capital has had its privileges. Arbitrary combination laws, or the arbitrary enforcements of those laws, prevent men from combining to protect their own interests, although masters habitually combine, as we saw painfully illustrated by the case of the tin-plate workers at Wolverhampton. The law of unlimited liability in partnership is frequently suspended in favour of great capitalist undertakings, while the working-man vainly asks for the same privilege in favour of his own humbler enterprises. If any recent boon has been conferred upon the labouring classes, it has been by that Free-trade which has brought plenty to all, and also such an extraordinary impulse to the trade of the employing classes.

A great boon, indeed, has recently been conferred on the labouring classes, but not by legislation: the discovery of the gold-diggings is a boon that has been conferred by God alone. And, while it has brought benefits as yet incalculable upon the commerce of this country, it has most especially benefited the working-man. It has opened to him regions where hard labour is the short, straight road to wealth. In Australia, he who digs is the Cæsar. But it has done yet more: by stimulating emigration, it has powerfully contributed to thin the labour-market, and it has done so to a greater extent than by the mere migration to the diggings, since it has greatly stimulated emigration generally. It has thus enhanced the value of the labourer remaining at home. This effect has been foreseen rather by economists and employers than felt by the men; but the effect for them will come about, sooner or later. It is now just beginning in the coal and iron trades, and the employers are resisting the rise of wages; but, of course, they will have to give way.

That the claim of the men is founded in justice the employers admit, by acceding to it in some degree. If they are now prepared to grant sixpence per ton of coals, or two shillings a day, they admit that the men have hitherto not been receiving so much as it is right to pay them: and the men, therefore, are justified in insisting upon more.

But the claim of the men rests upon a much broader basis. At no period in the history of the country has there been so wide an extension of prosperity, or a prosperity resting on a sounder basis. Manchester has been doing an immense stroke of business, and has just learned that it will have an unprecedented supply of the raw material from America; while there is every prospect that the ensuing spring will see an extended market for cotton goods. Leeds and the cloth-districts are restricted in their extending trade only by the want of wool, which threatens to fall short in Australia. Birmingham is the armoury of more than England, and is already forging weapons for the approaching array of military power, to say nothing of railway extensions, and other civil demands for manufactured iron. The shipping trade is not only employed to a degree never known before, but is extending with a rapidity unexampled, unimaginable. And "orders" continue to pour in on one side, as fast as gold pours in on the other.

Of course, in such a state of trade, the manu-

facturers and traders generally are making great and rapid returns. If three orders come where two used to be, the holders of those orders are making at least three profits instead of two. We all know that that is much to understate the case. But, in such a condition of affairs, assuredly justice would dictate that a share of the universal prosperity should not be withheld from the men.

We know that they have already benefited by Free-trade in the cheapening of provisions; but so have other classes. And the prospects of a bad harvest at home are diminishing that benefit to the working-man, for flour is already rising, and the loaf is a penny dearer. Bread, indeed, ought to be dearer, since there is a prospect of some degree of dearth. Not scarcity, for supplies will be drawn from abroad; but they may cost more; and it is well to be prepared gradually for that greater cost. It will probably be compensated by our greater means. But, then, the working-classes ought to share those greater means. Justice, therefore, will sanction any success which the men can attain in the contest.

But we believe that, in the long run, the masters would not benefit by beating the men. If the men are to aid the masters under the pleasant pressure of brisk and continually increasing business, they must work with a will, and they will do so best if they find themselves liberally treated. The truth is well known as belonging to human nature generally; but it has been repeatedly tested in the history of industry. Everybody knows that an English workman is more valuable than a workman of other countries, although the rate of his wages may be nominally higher. The plan of beating down, of "saving" at every turn, has been tried, and found wanting. The opponents of the Ten-Hours Act admit that its principle is good, and not bad, as they once insisted. Slop-clothing, ill made by infected hands, is growing less fashionable than it was not long since. Some of the newest commercial establishments rely on the principle of generous treatment for their work-people. Price's Patent Candle Company provides education and training for the young, encourages recreation, religious advice, and provident habits amongst its adults; and finds that a generous humanity "pays." Railways are showing, by their disasters to person and property, that cutting down the margin of liberality towards the working-man is a false economy; while the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, which has 100,000 persons dependent on its employments, applies the liberal principle to its dealings all round, and is establishing a business as vast and wealthy as a small state. The principle holds good in iron, coal, or cotton, as in candles, cloth, or shipping. We have to get up iron and coal from the depths of the earth, as fast as we can; we have to work up iron, wool, and cotton, at a pace unprecedented, in order to get back, with a full enjoyment of opportunity, corn, gold, and profit. Now the working hands will never do the drudgery so well. O masters! as if you lend to them a reasonable share of that prosperity which is so pleasantly intoxicating yourselves. Dismantle with a modicum of the golden elixir vitae which you are drawing through so many channels, from Australia, and California, and the other sources of wealth, and then see how their heart will be in their arms. For there is a good time coming,—nay, it has begun, both for masters and men. Use it, not only to heap up wealth, but to improve the relations between the two great sections of industry, and, by the blessing of God, both sections shall be not only the happier, but the wealthier—their common country happier, wealthier, and more secure in its grand career.

## SPAIN.

THE attempt of the Royal household in Spain to carry a change of Government by a *coup-d'état* and to assimilate it more closely to the absolutist constitution of the other Governments in Europe at the present moment, has been adapted to the circumstances of the Spanish capital; but it has encountered difficulties at the outset, and must encounter still more, as the manoeuvre is extended, in order to its own completion.

The plan of action differed very materially from the plan adopted in Paris, and we shall presently see the reason why. Instead of promulgating a change of the constitution in an autocratic proclamation, the change was submitted to the Cortes; but it was not the less



absolute in its tendencies. It revoked to the Crown almost the entire controul of public affairs, and established a counterfeit legislature, elected by a counterfeit constituency, consisting only of a few of the highest tax-payers in each place. It is not to be supposed that the Court made this attempt without considerable support; and although the proceedings are kept as secret as possible, it is beyond a doubt that the support must have been external. The fact is proved by the extremely comprehensive nature of the opposition. The Cortes were so generally arrayed against the measure, that it was necessary to dissolve that body. The important nature of the contest, not less than the arbitrary conduct to which the Government has committed itself, is seen in an assembling of a numerous committee of the opposition, with Narvaez at its head as President; and in the dispersion of that assembly by the police, on the single authority of the Crown. Narvaez has been sent into exile, and every party in the country, except a very fractional knot who cling to the court, has been sent into opposition.

It may create some surprise that the party which invented this *coup-d'état* in Madrid, did not act upon the pattern of Louis Napoleon—collect a great force, and surprise the capital in the night; but the reason is, that the army in Spain is in great part a body independent of the Crown. There are substantial reasons for that independence. One is the personal pride which the conduct of the court has failed to conciliate for many years, and which, therefore, causes a number of decayed families and their cadets to go about the country with feelings very much the reverse of affection to the throne. The other cause is the comparatively indifferent pay of the army, which has forced it at times into strange quarters and strange straits, and has made it acquainted with shifts conducive neither to discipline nor to that unity of feeling which scientific governors now seek to infuse into standing armies. The army has too much the spirit of an irregular corps; the men are in many cases fond of their officers, and have scraps of national feeling distinct from mere affection to the sovereign.

Anything like national feeling has long been submerged among Spaniards at large in more trifling sentiments:—self-esteem, on a Castilian scale, pride in personal beauty and show, love of pleasure, of enjoyment, of idleness, not altogether voluntary, characterize the Spaniard over a great extent of territory. These characteristics are lost, to a considerable extent, when you enter the territory of Barcelona; where the old spirit of national independence, once so turbulently shown under the Counts, has been succeeded by a strong infusion of modern commercial feeling, with the corresponding turbulence characteristic of manufacturing towns. If the expression is not far too strong, Barcelona may be called the Lancashire of Spain, with the commercial spirit strong in the employing class, and rather a riotous spirit strong in the working class; but in both cases to the abatement of old Spanish feeling, or of blind allegiance to a barbaric throne. The district in which national feeling remains strong, where popular independence is most stoutly maintained, is that called the Basque Provinces. Repeated aggressions on the old privileges of the Basques, which have been but partially successful, have only made them clench their teeth and fists the stronger. But the Basques, bred in a certain local liberty, peculiar in their temperament as in their tongue, connect their special liberty with the past; and have no theoretical sympathy with the progress of civilization or the growth of liberty in modern Europe or in Spain. The sole unity amongst any active and energetic class of Spaniards, therefore, is to be found in the army. It would, for these reasons, have been almost impossible for any adventurer in Madrid to reach the nation through the army, or to grasp at any millions of voters. The whole affair must be settled in the Chamber, and, if possible, by circumventing the army rather than using it or defying it. The position of the court is proportionately weak.

Its feebleness is not diminished by the precarious thread with which Cuba still maintains its connexion. The publication of the diplomatic correspondence in America, although it does not bear directly upon the present movement, will tend to diminish the confidence in the hold of the throne over that valuable island. The corre-

spondence between the Government at Washington and its representatives in London, from 1822 to 1840, establishes two or three points of considerable importance. It appears that the Spanish cession of Cuba has been a subject of question ever since the earliest of those dates. We first find the United States defending Cuba against the encroachments of France and the machinations of England. An equivocal expression quoted by Mr. Everett from the Count de la Alcedia, who says that he had certain information from the Duke of Wellington, has been taken to imply that the Duke was an accomplice in those machinations. The honour of England does not require any very elaborate disclaimer of the absurd projects imputed to her. But the fact is important, that the permanent retention of Cuba appears to have been a matter of doubt with all the three powers in correspondence. At the close of the correspondence, we find the American Ministers offering to purchase the island for 100,000,000 dollars. We have reason to believe that this correspondence ought to have an appendix, bringing down the negotiation to a period within the last three years.

Another fact established by the correspondence is the long existence in the island of a party favourable to its cession; a corroboration of the more importance, since it refutes recent denials.

The Spaniards, therefore, must regard their royal Government as having a serious disaster hanging over its head,—the loss of Cuba; and allegiance is seldom strengthened by sympathy with failure, especially when that failure is prospective and immediate. If we might hazard a calculation in times which defy the prophecies of politicians, we might say that the Spanish Government is too weak to accomplish a *coup-d'état*; that it can do no more than foment disorders in its own dominions; foment disorders which make it so much easier for the taxes to be collected in the shape of profits by contrabandistas than by the authorized servants of the Crown. The army is still the strongest power in Spain, disorganized and demoralized as it may be; and encroachments upon its patience will only be safe while they are not quite intolerable.

The disorders, indeed, might succeed for the benefit of the Royal system of Europe in general, at the expense of the particular family, by inducing the army to adopt the unlucky exile, Montemolin, instead of Queen Isabella. He is not the most imposing of legitimate claimants—he has no air of command in his countenance; but if you look to personal dignities, he will do at least as well as Isabella, and may pass muster amongst the small party of sacred Sovereigns.

#### THE BUDGET AND BEER.

TOWARDS no part of the community could Mr. Disraeli have selected a more unfortunate test for judgment of himself and his measures, than the Malt-tax, as he proposes to treat it. It would be quite possible to apply to the beer-trade the principle of "unrestricted competition" in a manner quite consistent with the principle to which we adhere, that of Concert; and in a manner as beneficial to the public as to the farmer, or more so. That which prevents the application of the principle is, not the amount of the Malt-duty, but the manner in which it is levied, and also the manner in which other burdens are maintained upon the Beer-trade; and with these obstacles Mr. Disraeli does not deal at all.

It is well, at starting, distinctly to recognise the fact, that the "monopoly" of the great brewers does not rest entirely upon fiscal restrictions, but upon the amount of experience, capital, and skill brought into the trade. Still, the fiscal restrictions do help to maintain that monopoly by an indirect process which we shall explain. For the making of beer like that of Bas, elements of first-rate quality, water, malt, and hops, are the prime necessities. To secure them, a certain assurance is required by the employment of a large capital, which can command the best materials, and can afford to reject those that fall short. Some fortunate circumstances are essential accessories. Such is good water near the site of the brewery, the chemical qualities of which are not always to be discriminated. Another essential accessory lies in servants with tact and skill, which, in brewing, cannot be reduced to chemical rules.

But there is no doubt that a good deal of experiment, in a small way, might be carried on, if

the trade were perfectly open, and the making of beer could be pursued in every little hamlet. The large capital is necessary in the first instance, because there is a heavy duty to be paid; for although that is ultimately charged upon the consumer, it must, in the first instance, be met by the capitalist. The formation of capital for that purpose has led to the gradual collection of business into the hands of a few great brewers; and from this circumstance arises a state of things which contributes to consolidate the monopoly. It is well known that the publicans are largely assisted by great brewers, and that, therefore, upon those brewers the publicans are dependent. The disposition of the public to purchase articles with sums in aliquot parts, also helps to regulate the price at a fixed level. Between the producer, the malt-grower, and the consumer, the effect of competition is arrested. The maltster has, of course, a market in which competition brings down prices to the lowest level for him. The great brewer can also give the lowest price, taking duty as an element in the account, for more or less, according to the fact. But as soon as we reach the publican, the effect of competition, to a great extent, ceases; and the machinery which maintains prices at that stage is brought to bear still more strongly by the general usage of trade upon the public. The publican cannot use competition effectively against the brewer, and he is shielded from it on the part of the public.

There is another reason why the public is debarred from the advantages of unrestricted competition. A shop for the sale of beer cannot be opened without a licence: now this licence is made, not only a matter of police, but a matter of fisc; and the cost, we believe, is ten guineas. The consequence is, that the humbler dealer meets an impediment at first starting. Not only so, but there are other attendant restrictions. The customer who seeks beer, desires, in many cases, to have a choice of fermented drinks; and he would often frequent a shop for beer, where he could occasionally take spirits instead. The licence for spirits, however, is not only charged at a much higher sum, but is also a matter of favour, to be sought from the magistrates, with great trouble, and not without some use of social influence. That shops for the sale of fermented drinks ought to be more especially under the eye of the police is obvious; but it is a very bad regulation which mixes up police laws with fiscal laws; and especially when laws of that complicated kind help other restrictions to check unrestricted competition, of which Mr. Disraeli boasts. The licensing system tends to help the peculiar relation which we have already explained between the brewer and the publican, in diminishing the number of publicans or dealers in fermented drinks: and, therefore, the dealers in beer. It is because the humbler trader finds such universal difficulty in penetrating the thickets of the system, that the manufacture of "the juice which makes the Briton bold" is kept in so few hands. There is no reason why associations like that of the Co-operative Brewery should not be formed amongst the working-classes themselves, for the manufacture of their own beer, secured, as it would be, under the principle of association, against adulteration; but, in the existing state of the law, that must be impossible to the immense number, and, therefore, the working-classes are forced to drink whatever miserable stuff the publicans may sell in the name of ale and porter.

The true restriction upon the trade lies in the licensing and excise systems, which directly check the multiplication of dealers, and necessitate a large capital; and with those restrictions Mr. Disraeli does not meddle. He throws away 2,500,000*l.* for no benefit either to farmer or consumer; with benefit only to the great brewer, who, of the whole series, does not want it.

#### KIRWAN'S CASE.

##### CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE, AND CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

WE are given to understand that shortly after the execution of Mr. Kirwan, a very important meeting is to be held at Exeter Hall, in favour of the abolition of Capital Punishments.

The gentlemen in and out of Parliament, who have long taken an active part in this movement, are determined not to lose the oratorical opportunity afforded them by the

judicial sacrifice about to be perpetrated in Ireland; and it is not at all improbable that with this happy illustration they will achieve a considerable success; perhaps, as a first step, the concession that for the future circumstantial evidence shall in no case hang a man. Some too ardent young gentlemen suggested that the meeting should be held at once, and petitions got up thereat in favour of the unhappy artist, whom a weary jury found guilty of living in adultery, and depriving them of refreshments last week—both capital offences, as it appears. The suggestion was of course rejected, and on the usual ground—philanthropists, like politicians, assert principles; details they have nothing to do with. We, however, who think examples often the best arguments, will say our say, or part of it, on this question at once. It is not so unimportant, even in its isolation, as it may seem, and moreover, as we believe Kirwan to be innocent, we should be glad to save his life.

He "declares, before God, that he had neither hand, act, part, or knowledge" of the death of his late wife; and we venture to credit his statement. But the great point, after all, as far as the public are concerned, and putting the duties of humanity out of the question, is not the mere settlement, yea or nay, of his guilt: the chief thing for us to consider is the terrible consequence of the new doctrine, that in cases of circumstantial evidence, consistency of the facts proved with the theory of the prosecution, should of itself be a sufficient satisfaction to the mind of the jury. The old dictum, that the proofs must be inconsistent with any other hypothesis, is the one which, with Judge Crampton's permission, we shall uphold.

The general facts are very easily mastered. It appears that Mr. Kirwan, an artist, of middle age, married some time in 1840 a lady fifteen years his junior, whether from love, or why, does not appear. About the same time, perhaps before, he made the acquaintance of a Miss Theresa Kenny, upon whom he bestowed a share of the affection undividedly "due" to his wife. Till a few months since, neither lady knew of the existence of the other.

In September last, Mr. Kirwan went to live at Howth, and there he and his wife stayed in the house of a Mrs. Campbell, a widow, with remarkably good ears and a very scrupulous conscience. This woman, who is minutely accurate in her recitals of conversations which went on in the parlour while she sat in the kitchen, laid an information before Captain Furnace, to the effect that Mrs. Kirwan had been constantly warned by her mother not to be too venturesome in bathing, and that "no couple could live more united," except during one fortnight, than did the Kirwans. On the trial, however, this exemplary female objected, that though that information was hers, yet she had not kissed the book. She has Commissioner Phillips's authority for the value of these formalities. A proper reverence for the Scriptures forbids her to tell truth, except when "the book" is within osculable distance.

Mrs. Campbell, then, witness for the prosecution, tells us that the Kirwans quarrelled; that Mrs. Kirwan bathed constantly; and that on one occasion, after they had gone together to Ireland's Eye, Mrs. Kirwan, with a bathing dress on her body, was brought home dead. By a remarkable coincidence, considering that it had been raining, and that Mr. Kirwan had been running about in all directions in search of his lost wife, his trousers were wet. Considering that the couple had been known to quarrel, and that one of them had died unaccountably, Mrs. Campbell has circumstantial evidence enough to satisfy her who was the murderer. Mr. Kirwan had forcibly drowned his wife.

The next witnesses are boatmen, brothers, who ferried the Kirwans over to Ireland's Eye in the morning and returned for them at night. They depose to searching with Mr. Kirwan for his wife, who, he stated to them, had left him to bathe at six o'clock, it being then eight. Ultimately they found her in a hole, on a rock, with various scratches upon her; the only point here being that she was in a somewhat awkward position, as ladies dying in fits are rather liable to be. They then went in search of her clothes, which they at length found in a place where one of the witnesses had just previously been and seen nothing of them. The inference left to be drawn was, that Kirwan had meanwhile put them

there, with what object we confess we cannot discover. Two women were next examined, nurses, who washed the body. They depose to the not very damning fact that Kirwan's trousers were wet about the legs, as also to the circumstance that he insisted on having his wife's body washed before the arrival of the police. Even innocent men do not lose wives every day, and cannot therefore be expected to pay such attentions at such times to the police. To this there is literally no evidence to be added, except that screams were heard at or near Ireland's Eye. In these cases, people never can be very clear as to the distances.

As to the medical testimony, that shows nothing at all as against the prisoner. The most hostile witness thought that, "taking the occurrence *per se*,"—surely it was not for him to take it otherwise,—"it was probable, in this instance, that death might have been brought on by a fit." And fits, it may be observed, are not readily given by husbands sketching in one part of an island, to wives bathing or dressing in another; neither are they, in many cases, unattended by screams.

Now, the first thing that strikes one in looking at this case is, that there is no possible proof of any murder at all, which surely should be a question preliminary to who is the murderer? It seems that a strong masculine woman of thirty, fond of bathing, and constantly doing so, leaves her husband, plunges into the water *just after dinner*, and either has a fit there, or has one just after scrambling out upon land. Any way, she is dead, with no marks of violence about her—nothing but a few scratches, which falling on, or scrambling up a rock would give any one, so lightly clad as was she at the time. He, who has been sketching at a distance, finds her corpse, and exhibits every reasonable mark of grief and consternation at the catastrophe. An inquiry is made, the coroner is satisfied, and the woman is buried; then, all at once, some local tribunal of ladies and gentlemen, shocked at the Kenny transaction, rake up the whole affair, and bring the widower up in the new character of a murderer. The jury hear everything, and are charged, as no English judge would have ventured to charge them. They are solemnly informed that, if they cannot reconcile the innocence of the prisoner with the facts laid before them, they are to find him guilty. They are not reminded that one fact more, existing, though not proved, might have thrown a new light upon the whole affair; they are not told that it has always been the rule in these cases not only to require every fact necessary for the support of the hypothesis of the prosecution to be proved, but also to show that that state of facts, so proved, is inconsistent with every other hypothesis which might be set up to account for it.

The verdict, after reiterated assurances that there was no hope of agreement, was suddenly agreed upon—strangely enough, after a question, on which the difficulty seemed to turn, had been answered by the judge favourably to the prisoner.

A juror had asked to be told the medical evidence as to the appearances of the body when found. His lordship said they might be the result of simple, and were by no means necessarily the consequence of forcible, drowning. The reply was of no effect. The law does not allow sufficient refreshments. Wretches still hang, that jurymen may dine. Kirwan was found guilty.

We have no hesitation in saying that there never was a case in which circumstantial evidence so weak as this convicted a man. To hang Kirwan would be a disgrace to the century; to have taken no step in his behalf is so to the philanthropists.

It may be very well to execute a man for not being the master of his own affections, but it will not do to set up the precedent that when a wife dies, and the appearances are such that it is possible her husband may have killed her, he shall have his life imperilled, or, at any rate, his peace destroyed, by the vigilant morality of a landlady who has seen him making himself disagreeable, and who has heard that he does not properly regulate his loves. It will not do to get into the way of perpetual exhumation, in cases where conjugal bliss has been limited, and where no policeman or divine was called in to witness the perfectly regular and natural manner in which the lady left this life. We must protest against

the establishment of a precedent from which such principles are deducible. If the existence of a mistress is to be considered a sufficient motive for the murder of a wife, and if, in case of the wife's death, the existence of such sufficient motive is to be deemed proof of her murder, unless witnesses were by when she died, matrimony must become very unpopular, and married men very unsafe. And the evil will extend. Presumed motive will be made proof in other cases. If here, where the doctors say that a fit and drowning would cause all that was heard or seen of the death of Mrs. Kirwan—where there are no wounds upon her, no marks of a struggle upon her husband—where there is no reason, beyond the probability of his wanting to get rid of her, why a jury should not attribute her decease to simple accident, they have yet chosen the alternative and hanged him, in how many other cases will not similar processes lead to similar results? Kirwan should never have been convicted; if there is justice left in England, he never will be hung.

#### OUR FRENCH COOK IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

ASTOUNDING as the fact may appear, it is nevertheless true, that the outrage in the House of Lords which we mentioned last week, has attracted comparatively little attention. Very few of our contemporaries have alluded to it. The *Globe* was the first to glance at the subject at all, but does not appear to have perceived the full force of the intrusion. It criticised the language employed on the occasion, as if it were that of Lord Malmesbury himself; although it is inconceivable that any English Peer should be found to convey such a message from Louis Napoleon to the House of Lords. Of the morning papers, the *Chronicle* alone has recorded its indignation, the others keeping silence. The reason it is difficult to imagine. We might suppose that the silent journals were prepared to acquiesce in the sentiments uttered by the speakers in eulogium of the new Emperor; but it is almost as inconceivable that English journalists should entertain that view as that the Peers should entertain it. How is it, then, that neither journals, nor any Member in the House of Commons, nor even any bold Baron, has been found to make his protest against such a perversion of English sentiment in "the highest Court of Judicature"? Are we to understand that the speech has been felt as a disgrace, and that there is a tacit though universal consent to hush it up?

If that is the determination, we must reject it as a very false policy. It is one thing to hush up a discreditable occurrence, when that occurrence belongs entirely to the past, and another to keep silence when a disgrace is continued by not expelling the intruder. But the intruder is suffered to remain in permanent occupation of the Foreign Office, to act for "England" in the councils of nations; and thus diplomacy is reduced to the level of cookery. The States of Europe become but so many "ingredients" in a *haché*, and the system which it has cost this country so much blood and treasure, so much taxation and discontent, to build up, is given to the cook of the Foreign Office to burn for firewood. It is no wonder that English influence abroad sinks to nothing.

England can no longer support constitutional government. Belgium has given way to France. Spain is importing *coups-d'état* from Paris, and Queen Isabella, whom we helped to set upon her throne, is become secondary to the instrument of absolutism in Spain.

Protestantism is equally beyond the power of Protestant England to uphold. Popery is appropriating France, which was, not five years back, more than half independent of priestly control. The priest party is overrunning half Protestant Belgium. Hungary is annexed to Austria, in league with the Pope. And we are not at all sure that the cook is able to counteract the secret encroachments in Ireland, which are more formidable than the overt "aggressions."

The English subject, who used to carry the protection of his laws with him, has become in all parts of Europe the favourite object of chase. Commerce trembles; for our relations with America are cooked in the worst style. In short, these important affairs which have hitherto demanded the most strenuous exertions from men of experience, influence, and station, like Lord Aberdeen, Lord Ashburton, or Lord Palmerston,



have now descended to the level of the servants' hall. Our policy is taken upon credit from foreign courts, and our footing in Europe has assumed a totally new character.

The conduct of diplomatic affairs ought to be accommodated to the new machinery at our command. If we have no longer a diplomatist to represent us, we should do our best to bring diplomacy within the rules of cookery. As one nation, razing its forts, stipulates that a powerful neighbour should do so, we might stipulate that other countries should employ Cooks in the conduct of international relations.

The new arrangement would fall in very well with customs in high places. In England much is done at the dinner-table; political results depend, in a great degree, upon the entertainment; and it is the "little more or less, perceptible to the uneducated palate," which the accomplished cook throws into his compound, that may enable the host to succeed, or condemn him to fail. How many a political object has been attained by the nice adjustment of a made dish. Let us confront the fact, and regulate our expectations accordingly. If we could induce other nations to adopt the like principle, England would not be at so great a disadvantage. It is true that England cannot maintain, on the field of cookery, that supremacy which she has supported at sea. Her flag may have braved a thousand years, &c.; but her *casseroles* must bow to that of France. By this new arrangement we should meet the desire of French ambition, and avoid offending the foreigner. The French journals claim to share with England the supremacy of the seas; and perhaps English pride would as much resent that concession as Lord Derby recoils at the idea of confessing to Free Trade; but by transferring the contest to the kitchen, the supremacy of France would be secured, and England might succumb with the better grace, and the safer.

On the continent, the new arrangement might be accepted with more than acquiescence. It is the custom, at this festive season, for family quarrels to be adjusted, for new family connexions to be cemented, and for old grudges to be replaced by new alliances. How pleasant a party the new Emperor might summon for the stated dispensation of royal charity. There evidently is a disposition in the scattered family of royalty to patch up old quarrels, for fear of losing credit out of the family circle, and, perhaps, with credit, existence. It would be a graceful thing for the youngest member of the family to reunite its scattered limbs. Round his board might be arranged those well-known faces—Naples, with his slanting forehead, his vacant countenance, his imbecility; Young Austria, not long since popular, now absolute, though his cheeks still tingle with the maternal slaps; Prussia, good-humoured, well-intentioned, but a little bemuzzed between revolution, hopes of German empire, and habitual champagne; anxious Belgium, dragged into the family party against his will. And, at the head of the table the host, with the strangest countenance of all, that impenetrable mask of stupidity covering cruelty—a frost of hypocrisy over a Satanic fire.

And England—How, indeed, could Queen Victoria be there? How could her constitutional and independent tongue conform itself to the compliments of the season in such a party? Evidently there is one mode in which England might be represented there; "England" represented by that eminent *artiste* "with whom most of your lordships are indirectly acquainted,"—"England," we say, might cook the dinner.

#### THE BUDGET.

##### II.

THE celebrated five-hours' speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer requires further comment; not, however, so much for the purpose of forming any estimate of that high functionary, as of learning what we may from his treatment of the questions he undertook to discuss.

On one point, if not more, we may give credit to the right honourable gentleman for greater consistency of opinion than that of most of those who have entered into this debate. He says that the repeal of the Malt-tax will be a direct benefit to the consumer and an indirect benefit to the farmer; and from this statement he does not swerve. In other quarters, extreme difference and uncertainty prevail. Some say the benefit of the repeal of the malt tax would go to the consumer; some say it would go to the farmer; and again some,

perhaps the greater number, affirm it would go to neither farmer nor consumer, but to the publican and brewer. The speech of Sir Charles Wood, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, contains in different parts all three opinions.

We are not now going to pronounce for or against any of these conclusions; the subject of the ultimate incidence of taxation requires separate and careful discussion. But if authorities so differ as to the effect of one indirect tax, how is it possible to know whether by means of any given system of indirect taxation you are taking from each his fair quota of the public expenses? For anything which can be shown, you may be exempting a man, or a class of men, from effective taxation altogether, or you may be crushing them by the occult accumulative incidence of many indirect taxes on one point. And if the truth on this subject cannot be ascertained by those who devote themselves to its investigation, how can there exist that popular confidence in the wisdom and fairness of our fiscal system, which is essential to its permanence and to the general contentment and prosperity?

Mr. Disraeli says, "What you want is, that you shall have as much as possible unrestricted industry and its consequences, as far as the cultivator of the soil is concerned." And this he gives as a reason for the reduction of the malt tax. No doubt the levying a tax on any article to the exclusion of others is an interference with industry; it is the opposite of protection. If a tax be drawn from one article or from the parties interested in it, which is not equally drawn from others, then those who do not pay the tax are favoured, protected, at the expense of those who do. A certain sum of money must be raised in the whole, and if malt or anything else pay more than its share, others pay less, and so are protected. This is not "unrestricted industry." Moreover, if it is objected that a man who has an income of 150*l.* per annum is unfairly dealt with because his neighbour with 100*l.* per annum leaves him to bear the burden of both, it may equally be objected by the maltster that the blacksmith in like manner puts on him a double share of taxes. For, be it observed, that the unfairness lies not in like articles being differently taxed, but in articles, however different, which are defended in like manner by the strength of the whole, being unequally taxed. It is just as unfair if calico is not taxed like malt, as it is if a house of 10*l.* rent is not taxed like one of 20*l.*, and just as unfair if the park or picture gallery is exempt from taxes which fall on the factory or the workman's cottage. In either case one party is made to pay, the other is protected.

If, however, this argument calls for the repeal of the Malt-tax, it calls also for much more. No tax is consistent with the fundamental principle of Free-trade but an equal and universal tax on property: for a tax of any other kind protects one at the expense of another, whether the exemption arise from the inequality of taxation of objects of the same kind, or from that taxation being made to fall only on objects of certain kinds to the exclusion of the rest.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in discussing the reduction of the malt tax, quotes Sir Henry Parnell to the effect that an article may be taxed of which the supply is limited by natural causes; for then a part of the high price which would go to the possessor of the special natural advantages, could not escape going to the State. So long as the supply of barley was limited to the growth and by the extent of our own soil, so long you might tax it; and in that case you had better not reduce your tax, because reduction of tax per bushel could not increase the consumption (the supply being limited) and so bring up again the total amount of the tax. But who knows or can know that the supply of any article is unlimited? We all thought that of gold and silver was limited, and the form and mode of the dealings of the whole human race with each other are founded almost entirely on that supposition. But we now know how much that universal base has lately been affected. The productive power of our own soil was believed to be limited to that which it had usually exhibited, and systems of political economy had been reared on that ground. We now find it easy to increase our crops 50 per cent. or more. Guano and drainage might have done for the supply of barley what Sir Henry Parnell anticipated as only possible from a repeal of the Corn-laws. How can we say, then, of any article hereafter, that its supply is limited, and that it may therefore be taxed? Moreover, supply is correlated to demand, and a substitute for an article, or a change of desire for it, may render a supply effectively greater which has not actually been increased, and the condition of taxability is then invalidated (as often happens) in another direction.

But still more: this argument supposes that the State has a right to take money, at its own pleasure, wherever it can find it; a pretension we do not hesitate

to deny. The relation of the State to the individual—that is, of all the members of the State to any one of their own number—is just as amenable to moral principles as that of its component individuals to each other. It is just as possible for the State to steal as any one of its members. If a man has cultivated peculiar faculties, or is rightfully possessed of special natural advantages, the State has precisely as much need of a moral justification in taking any part of their produce from him, as any private person would have. Suppose a man had acquired a unique capability of making a finished chronometer in a day, and so earned wages to the amount of a lordly income; or another had a spot which grew exclusively a special quality of lavender, and so had a lucrative market and high prices to himself; how should the State set up a pretence to share the proceeds? Why is either of these men to pay a heavier contribution to common expenses, when he incurs to his fellows no special cost? It is not enough to say "this man will get neither more nor less for his goods, if I tax him for them, and therefore I will tax him." The State must show what right it has to take that particular amount from that particular man, and it is no answer to declare, as our current systems of taxation do declare, "I want money, and here I find it."

We object, then, to the very principle of Sir Henry Parnell's argument, and of course to Mr. Disraeli's application of it; and we have adverted to this point the more at length, because we feel, at every step, the necessity of placing the whole question of taxation on grounds very different from those on which financiers and economists usually discuss it.

The right honourable gentleman believes that our prosperity "depends upon conditions and circumstances which have never before prevailed in this country,—upon natural circumstances and permanent conditions,—and that, if we only act with prudence, with such advantages as we derive from a low rate of interest, arising from natural causes, this country has before it an opportunity of material progress such as never occurred before to the vision of any statesman."

If this prosperity now depends on "natural circumstances and permanent conditions," it is certainly not to be attributed to Corn-laws, which are not to be classed with such circumstances and conditions; and possibly this might be included in Mr. Disraeli's meaning. If he did really intend the sense we have put on his words, we fully agree with him. The fault of artificial systems is, that being only interferences with, and contraventions of, "natural circumstances," they are always changeable and deceptive. They violate natural justice in a thousand unexpected ways; they, therefore, keep up perpetual discontent; and their crude, conjectural devices fail just when society, in the extremity they themselves bring on, has most need of their aid. Happy is that nation which rests its material well-being not on the temporary, changing, and ill-understood devices of artificial regulation, but on the enduring basis of "natural circumstances," and, therefore, on "permanent conditions."

But then there are such things as "natural circumstances and permanent conditions," in relation to taxation, as well as to commercial policy: and injustice, disappointment, discontent, and weakness, or justice, confidence, and strength, just as much follow the violation or observance of these directing principles in one case as in the other. Let any man look at our fiscal system, either standing as aforesaid, or as it is proposed to be by the present Budget, and say whether there is in it the slightest coherence of principle, the faintest unity of design, or the least regard for "natural circumstances or permanent conditions." If amended attention to these indispensable marks and objects of true policy has done so much for us in one great department of our common interests, what may it not do in another, where one-sixth of our total national income is now dealt with by means of ancient devices, more empirical, more complicated, and less excusable, than even the corn-laws?

What hope there may be of a "financial reform" in accordance with these views, it is perhaps not yet time to say. It is clear, however, that a vague preference for some sort of "direct taxation" is gaining hold of the public mind. Mr. Disraeli (who has thoroughly unsettled the old system) insinuates difficulty in execution, but not dissent from the principle.\* In all other quarters there are perpetual references to it as to an approaching question which must be seriously entertained, whatever the ultimate decision. Perhaps as few venture now to oppose it wholly on principle, as continue to assert the justice of treating all kinds of income alike. But the success of any attempt to

\* He makes, however, the strange mistake of saying, that by means of indirect taxation "the inmate of the palace and of the cottage are taxed as consumers proportionately."

establish direct taxation will require views far more extensive and precise than those which yet prevail; and above all, they will necessitate an inviolable regard to those "natural circumstances and permanent conditions," as well of a moral as of a material order, to which, we presume, Mr. Disraeli intended to attribute our present prosperity.

These observations, arising, like those of last week, from the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech on the Budget, prepare us for an examination, in our next, of the Budget itself.

#### BEUF AS A THEOLOGICAL INFLUENCE.

THE Duke of Cambridge gives an ox to the Leicester-square soup-kitchen; the Lord Mayor gives a quarter of an ox to the City Hospice—a remarkable inversion in a matter of viands. One might have expected that the hospitality of the Mansion-house towards the Hospice would have been at least ten times as great as the hospitality of a mere cadet of royalty for the Rag and Famish of Leicester-square.

In past times there has been a condition annexed to the hospitality of the Hospice: the poor who were indulged with a breakfast, were expected to follow it up with church. Probably a condition of a similar kind will be annexed to the Christmas beef; and if so, we detect our City magnate in a species of transubstantiation. The assertion is not so wild as the reader might suppose, and it may be made out physiologically. The beef is to be assimilated, and with it the doctrine; the hungry man is to be converted at once to comfort and belief; and while he is converted to belief, the beef is converted into him; ergo, the beef itself is converted to Christianity. Q.E.D.

If my Lord Mayor can concoct a certain number of Christians out of a quarter of beef, how many might the Duke of Cambridge convert with a whole beef? It is a question in practice.

#### THE DUTY OF THE LORDS.

THE way in which the present Ministers treat Parliament is not complimentary to the importance of that body. Mr. Disraeli declines to answer "a private Member," and Lord Derby keeps the Peers meeting from day to day, only for the purpose of seeing his face; since, like the stars, "they have nothing else to do." He was so kind as to apologize for it the other day, and insinuated that it was the bad manners of the Commons, who would go on debating his man's Budget, instead of passing it, as persons in their rank of life ought to have done. The Peers, therefore, it seems, have sunk to the duty of watching by the bed-side of the Ministry, while it is sick. The bold Barons, in their old age, have taken to the trade of hired nurse; and as they administered pap to Parliament in its cradle, so now it is their duty to give gruel to our constitution in its dotage.



#### Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

#### THE CASE OF MR. KIRWAN.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—I much fear that, in the name of justice, an act of most fearful injustice is about to be committed in Ireland. Mr. Kirwan, an artist, has been tried for the murder of his wife; none but circumstantial evidence has been brought forward against him, yet on this he has been found guilty, and is condemned to die by the hands of the common hangman, and no hope of mercy is held out by the judge. In reading the evidence, I was struck with the apparent desire on the part of the witnesses to prove the prisoner guilty. At the coroner's inquest they did not seem to consider that there was

anything out of the ordinary course, but that the death of Mrs. Kirwan was accidental. Once, however, the suspicion of murder was excited in their minds, they, with the usual imaginativeness of Irishmen, seem to have jumped to the conclusion that he was guilty, and gave importance to circumstances, as tending to this conclusion, of the most trivial character. For instance, the finding of the clothes of the deceased, and the boots and clothes of Mr. Kirwan being wet, are looked upon as conclusive evidences of guilt. Now, what more likely than that, late in the evening, when the search took place, the clothes were overlooked, from the darkness, or even owing to the excitement naturally attendant on the discovery of a dead body; and, surely, in wandering about, as Mr. Kirwan seems to have done, in search of his wife, in a situation which was covered with the sea at high tide, and where pools of water probably abound, or, at any rate, where he threw himself on the dead body of his wife, as described by one of the witnesses, is it not more than probable that Mr. Kirwan should have wetted his feet and legs in the pool in which Mrs. Kirwan's feet and legs are described as resting, when she was discovered?

But it is to the cause of death that I am most anxious to draw your attention. Mr. and Mrs. Kirwan, it appears, were in the practice of frequenting the island, and spending several hours there. They took with them a basket of provisions, and dined there; on the day in question, at any rate, they did so, and Mrs. Kirwan bathed before dinner. She was in the practice of remaining a long time in the water, and even of swimming; but on this particular day, she is said to have been interrupted by a party of visitors to the island. Having dined, however, she left her husband for the purpose of bathing a second time. Now, every one experienced in bathing knows that nothing is more dangerous than doing so after a meal, particularly after a full meal; and as Mrs. Kirwan had been wandering about for hours, as well as bathing before dinner, it is most likely she partook freely of food.

Now, looking to these facts, and the appearances presented by the body, I have no doubt whatever that either Mrs. Kirwan was seized with a fit after bathing, and that the receding tide had left her body where it was found; or what seems still more likely, she had ascended the rock, at the base of which she was discovered, after bathing; that she had there been taken ill, and had fallen from a height to the foot of the rock. This latter supposition is quite warranted by the description of her appearance and position when found. The whole of one side of the body discoloured, as from a severe bruise—the eye on that side congested with blood—the ear-ring torn from the ear, with that portion to which it was attached—wounds on the breast, and scratches on the face, such as would naturally be inflicted by the sharp edges of the rock, in falling—the clothes drawn up under the arms, as would naturally occur from the body sliding down the rock. Bleeding from one ear was spoken of by one of the witnesses, but he did not seem to be certain whether it was from the injured ear, externally, or from the internal ear; but, in the latter case, it is a most frequent symptom of fracture of the base of the skull, or from a heavy fall or blow on the side of the head, as we see frequently described in the case of accidents or in prize-fights. What is described as bleeding from the body may, after all, have arisen from other natural causes, or if blood, might be from uterine hæmorrhage, a very common disorder.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, I cannot understand how the judge and jury could arrive at the conclusions they seem to have drawn, and be so completely satisfied of the guilt of the accused. Just contrast with this case one which was reported in the *Sun* of the 13th. An inquest is there reported as having been held on the body of a poor woman, whose husband had frequently ill-used her; he had been seen to strike her, and to pull her about the room by the hair of her head, and had been heard to threaten her that "he would jump her soul out," and was constantly using the most awful language to her, so that she had expressed fears of her life being in danger from his violence. On a certain day she is heard screaming "Murder!" and for two hours and a half her screams were dreadful. She is afterwards found dead, her husband being known to have been with her all this time. Can any one doubt that this man had been guilty of a foul and deliberate murder? Yet he is dismissed by the coroner with a severe reprimand, the coroner expressing an opinion "that there was not sufficient evidence to ensure a conviction before a higher tribunal." Looking to these two cases, shall we call them instances of "even-handed justice"?

I do hope that strenuous efforts will be made on behalf of Mr. Kirwan, to induce a re-consideration of

his case. The medical evidence was certainly most unsatisfactory, but, as far as it went, was in his favour; and I feel quite certain, that had a jury of medical men sat on this case, they would, without the least hesitation, have acquitted the prisoner.

The wise laws of our country have decided that medical men shall not sit on juries,—they and butchers are excluded! Now, I would ask what class of men are so intimately acquainted with human nature, its motives and springs of action, as medical men? And who so capable, in cases of doubtful crime, to fathom the mystery as they? If not allowed to sit on juries, at least they ought to be employed to lend their aid to juries in their deliberations in such cases as I have referred to.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,  
MEDICUS.

P.S. I forgot to allude to the frothing at the mouth described as one of the appearances in Mrs. Kirwan's case. Now, this is the almost invariable accompaniment of fits. There is another circumstance which I omitted to speak of. The rock at the base of which the body was found is described as a "very high rock" by the counsel for the prosecution in his opening address; this lends the more probability to the supposition that Mrs. Kirwan may have ascended it, and fallen from a height; and the further fall might have been arrested by the sheet on which the body was found, and which had probably been placed there for use after bathing.

#### THE STAFFORD-HOUSE LADIES.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—Several papers have raised an outcry against a meeting held at Stafford House some short while ago. Now, as I believe that meeting to be one which reflects lustre on those who took part in it, you will perhaps permit me, through the "Open Council," to express my concurrence in its objects.

Ingeniously written articles, which remind noble ladies to look at home for a charitable field to work in; and letters which support these articles with signatures of "Common Sense," "A Soldier's Wife," &c. &c., are quite as applicable to other efforts now being made by different parties. Those ladies who have been told to look at the condition of those who enable them to appear in magnificent dresses, before expressing their desire to ameliorate the condition of slaves, may as well retort, that gentlemen should first look to those who make their coats, their bread, and many other things, before making appeals for help to distressed Hungarians, Poles, Frenchmen, and Germans. For surely if the blacks are not to have our efforts for their liberation until every little or large evil is destroyed here, I don't see why we should be called upon to extend our assistance to those on the continent who desire what our coloured brethren do—and that is freedom. Will our opposing friends look to this, and ascertain whether they are acting wisely in dispensing, not only their sympathy, but their pecuniary mites, to those who elsewhere are struggling for liberty. If not, we had all better join the peace-at-any-price movement, and abjure the non-intervention principle of Kosuth and Mazzini, and cling to that which practically allows the strong to practise enormities upon the weak, provided we are left unscathed.

As the *Leader* and other liberal papers have exerted themselves nobly for the liberal cause on the continent, I trust they will not oppose by strictures and otherwise those efforts which would give the black the same liberty which the white possesses; and if an agitation is originated by lords or ladies, artisans, labourers, or the humblest peasants, let them have cheerfully the dutiful assistance which such a generous cause deserves.

FREDERICK A. CREED.

Goswell Road, Islington.

#### NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ERRATUM IN OUR LAST.—In the article on Limited Partnership, p. 1185, third column, eighteen lines from the foot of the page, for "50,000," more than A ever possessed," read "5000," &c.

ALPINE FLORA.—The first characteristic mark is the absence of trees; even bushes are only found in the lower parts of the Alpine zone, and here the rhododendrons, or Alpine roses, play a prominent part, forming a dense scrub. The short summer, limited to two or three months, and the nocturnal frost which occurs even during the warmest months, make it readily conceivable that no plant can produce long shoots here; from the large, weighty masses of snow, and the violent winds upon these heights, it is clear that the young stems or shoots must be broken, and that, consequently, when stems or shoots do present themselves, they can rise only a few inches from the earth, or that, at all events, supposing them to acquire some length, they are compelled to creep along upon the earth or cliffs.—SCHOUW'S *Earth, Plants, and Man*.



## Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

WE have on more than one occasion argued the question of classical learning, and although the accidents of our own education may be supposed rather to bias our inclinations in favour of that which it has cost us so much labour to acquire, yet our impartial verdict is decidedly against allowing Greek and Latin to continue in the dominant position they have hitherto held. We believe that on many accounts it is desirable for a certain class to occupy itself with the dead languages, as it is desirable for a class to occupy itself with antiquities, conchology, or any other special subject of study; but general education ought to dispense with them, as practically we see it dispense with them; of the thousands who receive a "classical education," only a few retain enough of their hard-earned knowledge to make any use of it.

We are led to notice this topic by an article in the *Daily News* on the performance of the Westminster play, exposing the "inconsistency" of representing such indecencies as those in which *TERENCE* abounds, before the youth and women of moral England; after alluding to the subject of the *Adelphi*, the writer adds:—

"And yet it is such a play as this, without either romance or sentiment to throw the thinnest of veils over its impurities, that youths of seventeen or eighteen act, and that their mothers and sisters witness. A crowd of elegantly dressed women, most of them doubtless in the upper ranks of society, were listening last night—we trust without understanding what they heard—at one time to the story of a rape, and at another to the screams of a female in the act of parturition. And this is an entertainment which good and learned men get up as a means of instruction to boys, and delight to their parents! There is scarcely a greater anomaly in any part of our social system.

"Does not, however, the whole thing take its rise in that absurd clinging to antiquity which is a distinguishing feature of modern English education? And if so, is not the real evil in question far greater than that of the representation of an indecent play? The world is marching on, and leaving English education behind it as a worn-out antique. When a man comes out of a public school into the world, and wishes to move along with society, he has really to educate himself. If he has been to one of the first schools in the country, he has learned just as much as would have fitted him for the society of his ancestors three hundred years back, but scarcely anything that enables him to take his place in the world that has advanced more in those three hundred years than in fifteen centuries before that time. He brings rusty implements to work with, whilst he finds that he can do nothing unless with modern tools. Why, then, it may be said, do so many still cling to such relics of antiquity? We believe that the reason will be found in that class feeling which cuts up English society into sections, and draws broad lines of demarcation between bodies of men who ought to be united. A 'classical education' is valued by the great number, not on account of any proved value of its own, but because the poorer classes do not get it. This feeling strikes at one root of our nationality. There can be no national education, while one class insists upon laying the foundation in a dead language which the other class have nothing to do with. The ideas of the two classes are taught to flow in different channels from their very earliest youth, and when they meet together in manhood, they have little common ground of educational sympathy.

"The Westminster play is an example of this anomaly in its grossest form. Pious clergymen are for months engaged in instructing ingenious youths how with point to enunciate gross impurities; the only excuse being, that the immorality is expressed in unexceptionable Latin. Boys are brought to the consideration of thoughts and deeds which, under any other shape, they would be told to flee from as from a pestilence. They are taught to laugh at actions which, from the pulpit, they are told to avoid. The gross absurdity of punishing boys for making use of expressions in the play-ground, which they are taught to deliver with unction on the stage, must before long make itself evident."

There are three points in these remarks to which we desire especial attention:—1st. The conservatism which undoubtedly does underlie this absurd veneration for Antiquity, not as the common mother of us all, not as the life from which the Present was evolved, not in any high historic sense, but as the blind instinct of conservatism, which clings to whatever has been established, long after its significance has passed away and left it a mere tomb of the once living. 2nd. The aristocratic feeling of exclusiveness which it fosters; although that must only be accepted as one side of the question. There is another. The classics form not only a barrier excluding the people, but a common ground of thought, illustration, poetic feeling, and historic association, to all within the barrier. A sentence from *HORACE*, a few words from *THUCYDIDES*, an allusion to *VIRGIL*, an illustration from *PLATO*, although perhaps when translated appearing very insignificant to those without the barrier, will have significance, beauty, and delight for those within it. What the wayward *VIVIAN* chooses to call *lead* is not unfrequently a jewel sparkling on the finger of a friend, and an emblem of his being one of the same community as ourselves. We do not say it is not sometimes the dull lead of pedantry; we say it is not necessarily so. To make our meaning more apparent, let us refer to the days when Literature knew nothing of its present gigantic proportions; before octavos were dreamt of, and Railway Libraries would have been a vision more fantastic than Atlantis or Utopia; in those days the common fund of literature was one in every family: it comprised the Legends of Chivalry and the various works of a religious and moral cast, which in narrative or comment endeavoured to complete the Bible. In those days one may notice a community of feeling and of opinion very different from the anarchy of our own. This community is in some sort kept up by a classical edu-

cation; whatever our differences of opinion, we have a common ground in the literature of Greece and Rome. And this it is, quite as much as the aristocratic notion of exclusiveness, which unconsciously makes many men defend the study of the classics.

The third point we have to notice is that of the "inconsistency." To those who follow the teachings of clergymen with a commentary of practice nothing can be surprising in the way of inconsistency. Sometimes these inconsistencies are the instincts of virtue overthrowing dogmas; sometimes they are fortunate safety valves for an inworking force, which if compressed would shatter the whole fabric to pieces: how often are inconsistencies the cracks by which Society is kept free to expand, without which it would explode! Sometimes, again, "inconsistencies" are the revelations of the real spirit underlying profession. For example: the Protestant party—especially that section of it which arrogates the name of evangelical—is intensely bitter against the Catholic system and Papal Infallibility. The "sacred liberty of private judgment" has no more acrimonious advocates, so long as that private judgment is their own; but no Catholic can manifest greater intolerance than these evangelicals against those who presume to question their infallibility. We have a specimen in the *Manchester Courier*. The disgraceful scene acted by Mr. Commissioner PHILLIPS the week before last in the Court of Bankruptcy was noticed by the *Manchester Guardian*—a paper of the highest standing,—a sort of *Times* of the North; and noticed because it "unaccountably escaped comment from the London press, to whom it properly belongs" (it escaped owing to the timidity of the press); and after a narrative of the affair these remarks were added:—

"So the scene terminated. The unfortunate sceptic was ejected out of a court of justice like a thing too foul for human contact; and the insolvent, in default of bail, went back to prison.

"We do not undertake to say whether Mr. Commissioner Phillips was at liberty to reject the oath offered to him by a person who declared that it was binding on his conscience, though we know that the duty of a judge has been differently interpreted in similar cases; and we entertain an impression that it was exceeded on this occasion. But we do protest against the tone in which he was pleased to pronounce his decision, and the unwarrantable comments which he tackled to it. If the law forbade him to accept Mr. Holyoake's adjuration, it was for him to say so calmly and dispassionately, and not, under protection of the judicial robe, to insult an unoffending man with his blatant orthodoxy. Mr. Holyoake's religious peculiarities have as good a right to be treated with respect as those of a Quaker, a Jew, a Hindoo, or any other witness who may come before a court of law. We need hardly say that we differ from him on almost every point respecting which his opinions are publicly known; we consider his condition and his career as unenviable and distressing. But he has this claim on respect, that he has suffered deeply for his convictions, which is more than we are aware that Mr. Commissioner Phillips has done, and more than we think he is likely to do."

Upon this, the evangelicals are in arms. The *Manchester Courier* has an indignant article, full of all the sweetness of Christianity and the charity characteristic of the sect. "The undoubted respectability of our contemporary gives a kind of patent to the dissemination of infidel doctrines that renders the publication of the article infinitely dangerous," says the mild and Christian *Courier*. Again,—"*Of the infidel character of our contemporary's remarks there can be no doubt. They have 'raised the blood' of some of the best men not only in Manchester, but in the towns which surround us.*" Unhappy men! unhappy *Courier*!

Can such drivels be,

And not o'ercome us as a winter's cloud?

How beautifully engaging these men make Christianity appear! Directly a word of charity and tolerance is spoken, they cry out anathema; but as they are fond of fixing others in the pillory, we will fix them in one, and they can scarcely object, for it shall be built with their own hands. Here is the conclusion of the article:—

"The fact is, that the whole of our contemporary's remarks, and the too-evident spirit which has dictated them, combined with what, we cannot help thinking, is a mere affectation of ignorance of the law, to serve the purpose of the moment, convinces us that that old Socinian spirit for which the *Guardian* was notorious in days long passed, has deepened to something infinitely darker and more hideous. There is really no true 'liberality' in attempting to loosen the bonds of religion and morality, and instead of ridicule and censure, we think that Mr. Commissioner Phillips deserves the very highest praise for purifying the courts of this kingdom from the stain of infidelity which was sought to be cast upon them by Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, the proffered bail, who did not acknowledge the existence of God! We say, God forbid that any person who denies the existence of the Deity should be heard in any court of justice in England. We trust that the moral and social responsibilities of such a man will never be recognised; for if they be, there can no longer be any security for the well-being of society in this or any other country. It is a downright insult to 'a Quaker, a Jew, or a Hindoo,' to place them in the same category with such a creature as Mr. Holyoake. And it is an insult to a Christian community (which we believe Manchester to be), that any journal should dare to pronounce such opinions as are habitually pronounced by the *Manchester Guardian*, in the present day."

Pray notice the amiable and honest logic by which the writer is "convinced" that the *Guardian* has deepened into a creed "infinitely more hideous" than Socinianism, and notice also the courageous imbecility of this disclaimer of social responsibilities. *O nomen dulce libertatis! 6 jus eximium nostræ civitatis!* Well might *CICERO* apostrophise the sweet name of Liberty and the sacred rights of citizenship, when both are to be forfeited if men do not read through the same spectacles as those in authority.

WE have spoken with undisguised contempt of the *Courier*, and now contrast with it the tone of another religious paper, as superior to the

*Courier* in ability as it is in charity, we allude to the *Nonconformist*, whose words we cordially endorse:

"An Atheist is not to be tabooed. He is not to be thrust out of the pale of humanity. Our puritan forefathers would have branded and imprisoned him; we would reason and plead with him. To us he is, and to them he ought to have been, a man and a brother. If he really believes there is no God (prove it he cannot), the 'portentous heroism' of such a creed awakes within us thrilling emotions of wonder and surprise. And if with this no-belief he connects a life irreproachable and unselfish, if with this no-belief he associates high patriotic yearnings and generous political sentiments, and if with this no-belief never a word of scorn or cankering hate for those who are entrapped by 'superstition' escapes his lips, then we dare not despise, much less loathe, such a man: we can give him the right hand of true friendship, and not fearing that he will make us worse, we will try to make him better. By all means let the Atheist have free speech, let him address the public ear by the press and by the platform with most unchartered liberty; we would no more denounce him than we would attempt to silence him. He has as much right to speak his conviction as we ours. And not only so, it is his duty to do this. Suppression of thought leads to suppression of truth. Concealment of conviction becomes an extinguisher of truth."

#### ST. JOHN'S ISIS.

*Isis: an Egyptian Pilgrimage.* By James Augustus St. John. In 2 vols.

Longman and Co.

MR. J. A. ST. JOHN, the father of a literary family, and the author of various esteemed works, here returns to the land of his early love, and talks of it with the enthusiasm of a lover. It is a strange book. One cannot describe it as a book of travels, though it sets forth the long results of travel. It is what the French call *un livre de fantaisie*; it mingles reverie with description, musings with anecdotes, remark with stories; having Egypt as a canvas whereon the varied embroidery is worked, and giving in a pleasant rambling way the results of reading and observation. Bosoms and sunrises—moonlight scenes and the ever-shifting phenomena of the sea—stars and the desert—Egyptian life and travelling incidents—philosophy somewhat of the "rose pink" order, and semi-poetical digressions such as we meet with in romances, and are there called "beautiful imaginings"—these form its staple, and the volumes are of that kind well suited to a sultry afternoon, when the body is indolent and the fancy active. Reclining under a tree or amid the ferns, or basking in the sun on a ledge of rock looking out upon the sea, this *Isis* would be very fascinating reading. We found it agreeable even during the dull and ceaseless rains of this cheerless December. Let us borrow from it an illustrative extract or two for the enjoyment of our readers:—

#### CLEOPATRA AND SHAKESPEARE.

"Cleopatra! Whence arises the fascination attached to this name? Other women, celebrated in history, were more beautiful, and, perhaps, also, more lavish of their beauty—Lais, Phryne, the elder and the younger Aspasia. Yet there is a strange spell about the memory of this wife of Ptolemy, which belongs to few other female names in history. It is not that Shakespeare has given her a place in one of his dramas—for the ancients regarded her as we do, and the Italians, before Shakespeare wrote, were possessed by the same sentiments. Besides, to speak the truth, Shakespeare has vulgarized her, not by exaggerating her wantonness, which might have transcended his power, but by attributing to her ideas and language incompatible with her refined Sybaritism. His Cleopatra is a fierce, coarse, wayward, unimaginative and imperious courtesan, bestowing herself where she does not love, divided between licentiousness and ambition, and dying, when she could no longer devote herself to pleasure in her own way. In this he is not borne out by history. Pleasure in her had, no doubt, hardened the heart and corrupted the sentiments, but in the midst of her voluptuousness she retained that elegance and refinement of manners which constituted so great a part of her witchery.

"The musical tones with which she spoke Greek—itself the most musical of languages—sent, we are told, a vibration to the heart, even of the most indifferent persons. According to her own theory, she was mistress of herself, that she might be the mistress of others. Shakespeare makes her brawl and rave like a northern virago. Cleopatra may have had the poison of the south under her tongue, may have had no fibre in her body which did not vibrate to the touch of vice; but while her opinions were profligate and her soul corrupt, she preserved that syren softness, without which, beauty still greater than hers would not have been able to seduce the reason of mankind, and convert history itself into panegyric of whatever is most pernicious and disastrous to the world."

Last week our readers had a scientific theory of Tears set before them, let them compare with this

#### MORALIZING ON TEARS.

"Here in the north we dislike to yield outwardly to sorrow, even when we feel it most. But the Orientals find a luxury in shedding tears, and indulge in it, both men and women, to a degree which must always astonish persons of colder temperament. They have on this subject a theory, which may not be altogether without truth; namely, that while the great and the noble weep without reserve, those of selfish, narrow, and little souls are incapable of displaying this token of grief.

"And no doubt tears in themselves are most beautiful, especially when the fragrance of repentance or love is united with their brightness. They seem to wash away the stains of the soul, and to restore it to that unsullied purity which it knew before the fall. All that is loved, loveable, or sweet in humanity, has been cradled and as it were bathed in tears. We are ushered into the world with tears, wrung by the birth pangs from the eyes of our mothers; with tears do they watch over us in infancy, when pain and sickness visit our frail bodies; and afterwards, whatever feeling is deepest in life, whether joy or sorrow, tears are sure to hallow it, to show how close in our nature the fountains of delight lie to those of anguish. Finally, when we stand on the last verge of time, and are about to put off upon the fathomless and boundless ocean of eternity, the tears of those who love us pour round our departing souls, and often drop upon the cold clay after the spirit has deserted it for ever.

"Let no one, therefore, be ashamed of tears, which are the surest inheritance of humanity, and are shed most freely by those, perhaps, who have the largest hearts, the wisest sympathies, and the strongest love for their fellow-creatures."

Connected with tears and other expressions of sensibility there is a curious chapter in Lessing's immortal treatise on the *Laocoon*, to which we refer the student. The spontaneous tendency of men is undoubtedly to

exhibit all emotions; the second stage is that of repressing the exhibition, and all half-civilized beings, whether Savages or Fashionables, are ashamed of emotion; the third stage is a return to the spontaneity of nature. It is worthy of remark that Homer makes his Trojans stoical and silent, his Greeks emotional and outcries. Homer had no notion of disguising the expression of emotion. He makes even the wounded God quit the battlefield howling.

#### We must find room for Mr. St. John's remarks on

#### THE DANCING GIRLS.

"Many are the accounts which have been given of the Hawalim and Ghawazi, the singing and dancing girls of Egypt, who have been painted in the most opposite colours; placed by some on a level with the polished *hetaira* of Athens, and degraded by others below that wretched sisterhood who haunt the streets of European capitals. In whatever light we view them, it is impossible to comprehend the nature of Egyptian society without ascertaining their real position. At once degraded and courted, condemned to a life resembling that of outcasts, yet admitted occasionally into the most respectable company, flouted and despised even by the very libertines who frequent their dwellings, yet introduced into the harms of the great, and employed to instruct their female children in singing and dancing; we may be truly said to possess in Europe no class resembling them.

"There seems to be good reason for suspecting that, with the unavoidable modifications produced by time and circumstances, they are identical with the class of women represented dancing with instruments of music in their hands in the sepulchral chambers of Ellithyias. These, perhaps, were priestesses of Athor or Isis, who, devoted to the worship of the reproductive principle, took vows the reverse of those pronounced by modern nuns, to be in many, if not in most, cases broken. The Ghawazi never made, nor do they still make, professions of chastity, but lead a wild, irregular life, in which, apparently, they discover some compensation for the scorn and obloquy to which they are exposed; not that they are despised by all. I saw a Muslim, poor but apparently respectable, take his little daughter, then about eight years old, to be educated by the Ghawazi at Shaharah as a member of their society; and this, I was told, is not uncommon, though, upon the whole, the sisterhood would appear to belong to a particular caste or tribe, having no affinity to the nations of El Islam, but Pagan in its origin and Pagan still, though affecting to adopt the faith, while abjuring the manners of the Koran.

"However this may be, the day after my arrival in Cairo, I joined a party of gentlemen who were going to witness what may be called the Egyptian opera, at the only place in the whole land of Isis where it is performed in perfection. My classical recollections caused me to picture to my imagination the groves of Daphne, the bowers of Paphos, and the blooming suburbs of Athens and Corinth; but the village of the Ghawazi is surrounded by no such luxurious shades. It stands in the midst of the scorching sands, grey, dingy, half calcined by the sun; though beneath those homely roofs were concealed some of the most magnificent female forms in Egypt.

"When we approached the village, numbers of the girls came forth to meet us, clad in airy and bewitching costumes, their black hair entwisted and glittering with ornaments of gold, the palms of their hands and tips of their fingers tinged with henna, so that each nymph reminded us of the Homeric *rododactulos eos*, their eyes, black and lustrous with kohl, and their whole forms breathing health and pleasure. We alighted at the door of a coffee-house, in which was a spacious saloon filled with Ghawazi and Hawalim, who were tripping to and fro, with tinkling anklets, singing snatches of gay songs, not in mock merriment, but with a joyousness that was evidently genuine.

"Nothing could exceed the negligence, not to say the audacity, of their dress. There was art in what they concealed, as well as in what they exhibited; but upon the whole it was easy to perceive that their figures were rich and beautiful, though in general somewhat too much inclined to be plump. It is said that in the north small hands and feet are the exception—not the rule. In Egypt it is exactly the reverse. Nearly all the women have pretty feet and hands, and the largeness and fulness of the limbs make them appear even smaller than they are. In features the Ghawazi, of course, differed much from each other, but they were all fairer than any other class of women in the country, and some had features singularly symmetrical and delicate. The mouth, above all things, was beautiful, and the lips being full and ruby-coloured, imparted to the whole countenance an air of extreme health, greatly strengthened by the sparkling brightness of the eyes.

"With regard to their conversation, it was impossible to detect in it any difference from that of other women, except that they talked a great deal more, apparently because they had more to say. This fact may be rendered intelligible by the circumstances of their lives, which familiarize them with high and low, learned and ignorant; besides, it is their business to make themselves agreeable, and this compels them to think a great deal more than their female neighbours, on the best means of uniting the *utile* with the *dulce*. The tokens of their profession were discoverable in their looks and gait, in their tolerance and equanimity. They sang songs, sentimental and impassioned, but not licentious, and seemed to have among them certain rules of decorum which it would have been considered ill-bred to violate.

"When they danced their *ne plus ultra* dances, it was not in public. They retired in pairs to separate rooms, with a musician and their audience, small or great, and there went through their various evolutions. The music to which they danced had only one merit; that of being adapted to the occasion. Far from being brilliant or scientific, it threw itself forth in gushes and wails, abrupt, broken, fierce, and languishing by turns. I recollect no complete air; but the ends, as it were, of tunes, snatches of imperfect melody—haunt me from time to time, as the scraps of village songs used to haunt the memory of Rousseau. I have said the music was not scientific, but it was something better; for it indicated by a procession of sounds what the movements of the dance would have been unable to express without it.

"When the soul is touched, it is immaterial through what instrumentality it is worked upon. For example, it mattered not at all that the musician who played to the Ghawazi was a meagre old Arab, with sombre turban and habiliments, and eyes half closed by drowsy sentiment; that he beat upon a rude drum, or elicited sounds from a flute which, for aught I know, might have been taken from the coffins of the Pharaohs.

"The arrangement of the notes was inexpressibly delightful, and affected the soul in a manner inexplicable by any art of mine. Passion, noisy, as it were, in its upper development, becomes quiet—hushed—almost silent, as you touch its depths, and occasionally sends forth a wail which might be confounded with that of pain, but for a tone of sweetness that pervades it.



"Is it the same fountain within us that pours forth the tears of sorrow and delight, or are there springs at the two poles, as it were, of feeling, which are broken open, and discharge their sealed waters, when, through the operation of causes internal or external, we are intensely happy or unhappy?"

"It was not probably the movements of Leila or Fatima that constituted the fascination of the dances I witnessed, but the associations accidentally awakened by them, which sent back my thoughts over four thousand years of Egyptian history, and called up in some sort a buried world before me. Present at Shaharah in person, I was intellectually and morally far away amid the dim lights of tradition, with the disciples and children of Athor and Isis around me, amid the palm-groves of the Heptanomis, or in the island of mystic beauty which floats midway between the torrid and temperate zones, and woos from the sun the perpendicular glances of the tropics."

And for the following on

#### THE EGYPTIAN WOMEN.

"We probably form a false conception of the life of the harim, misled by writers who suppose its inhabitants to be swayed by a system of ideas different from that which really prevails among them. My own opinion is, that they are quite as happy as the rest of their sex, otherwise nature would not have given perpetuity to the institution, which seems quite as suitable to the East as very different institutions to the North. At any rate, the women themselves are the best judges, and they appear upon the whole no less contented than their sisters of Frankistan."

"Besides, their seclusion is not so absolute as we imagine. I have seen respectable men and their wives going out to spend the evening pleasantly in the fields between Cairo and Shoubra, forming little groups, but not so far removed as to prevent conversation. They did not, of course, belong to the upper classes, which everywhere sacrifice the heart and its best affections to pride and vanity; but were probably shopkeepers, or what are called in the East, little merchants, extremely comfortable, and, as we express it, well to do. At any rate, if mirth be a criterion, they were as happy as Greeks, for they talked, laughed, related stories and anecdotes, smoked, drank sherbet, and ate sweetmeats and all sorts of delicacies with much greater gusto than the same number of princes and princesses in the sombre North."

"Again, when I visited the Mosque of Flowers, I saw at least four or five hundred women, many of them of the highest rank, distributed through the various aisles, in pleasant little groups seated on carpets, some sewing, others suckling their children, others talking and laughing, or eating and drinking, while their slaves stood round in attendance. As I was dressed like a Turk, they bestowed no more attention on me than on any other person. So I gazed on them at my leisure, while I affected to be regarding the architecture, the colours of the painted windows, and the materials of the pavement."

"Even in the bazaars, when not too strictly attended, the Muslim women sometimes venture to converse with strangers, sending forth their soft voices, at first, perhaps, from behind their veils, but as the dialogue warms, throwing these aside for a moment and exhibiting their beauty, as the moon flashes from behind a cloud. One day, as I was examining some linen for a turban, a Turkish lady, who had likewise come to purchase finery, addressing me quite in a familiar tone, said—

"That, O stranger, will not suit you; but this," touching some Manchester muslin as she spoke, "will look very handsome, though the fashion now is to wear the Fez plain."

"The ice being thus unceremoniously broken, we continued talking on a variety of topics, though the female slave who attended her displayed numerous signs of anger or alarm. But the mistress was not to be checked. The rare opportunity of conversing with a Frank having presented itself, she was resolved to make the most of it, and went on chattering and laughing for a full hour at least. As she put several questions to me respecting the females of Europe, I ventured to inquire, in my turn, into the internal economy of the harim, respecting which she disclosed to me some curious particulars, fully confirmed afterwards by more than one Levantine matron at Alexandria."

#### MR. COMMISSIONER PHILLIPS AS STUDENT AND JUDGE.

*The Loves of Celestine and St. Aubert: a Romantic Tale.* By Charles Phillips, A.B., and Student of the Middle Temple. With a portrait of the author. 2 vols. J. J. Stockdale, 1811.

#### [A RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW.]

WHEN an elderly gentleman, who has been "wild" in his youth, manifests indignant intolerance of the peccadilloes of his son, every bystander feels that whatever wisdom there may be in the reprobation of "wildness," it comes with a very bad grace when it comes harshly from one who formerly succumbed to the temptation. The father may plead that his greater experience gives greater authority to his reprobation of vice; it does so; but it ought at least to give him greater tolerance for the weakness which succumbs. A man who has never erred may not be expected to have much sympathy with error; his harshness is ignorance. So also a man who has never wavered in his belief may look upon incredulity as an immorality; but for the converted infidel to take this view is to say, implicitly, "I was a scamp, and therefore I was an infidel."

We are about to confront Mr. Charles Phillips as a young man with Mr. Charles Phillips on the bench—the student with the Commissioner—to show that the man so pure and inflexible in his orthodoxy, who cannot now take the evidence of one who will not accept the Bible, was in his youth the scorner of bigots and fanatics, the idolater of Rousseau, Paine, and Condorcet, the antagonist of Marriage, the erotic advocate of "lawless love," the mouthpiece of the foolish trash which the waves of the Revolution threw as foam upon the shore—and we will then ask the public to judge of the dignity and becomingness of the scene at the Insolvent Court the week before last.

Let us not be misunderstood. We are by no means of opinion that the errors or mistakes of a man's early life are to be brought up against him as evidence in his old age; as well might one hold a man accountable for the ignorance of his childhood, which would be flagrantly absurd. But although a man's present is not to be measured by his past, we may legitimately gather from his past, certain indications which will affect our estimate of his present. It is no argument against the sincerity of a man's Protestantism that in his youth he was a Catholic; it was no argument against Godwin that in his youth he had written sermons. But if a man was in his youth a liar and a thief, one would naturally have some

suspensions of his morality in old age. If in his youth he was fond of balls and pic-nics, which he now thinks "frivolous," we have a right to question his harshness towards youths who are now attracted by these frivolities. If in his youth he worshipped Rousseau, Paine, and Condorcet, we have a right to question his sincerity when he says that any man who holds the opinions of Paine, Condorcet, and Rousseau is unworthy of the rights of citizenship, unworthy to be heard in a court of law, unworthy to be credited with a conscience; or if we allow him to say so, then we must interpret his language into a confession of his having been the reprobate he is scandalized at—and if so, how came he to sit on the bench?

It is for this purpose that we have taken *Celestine and St. Aubert* as the text for a retrospective review. When Mr. Charles Phillips wrote that work, and published it, "with a portrait of the author," dedicating it to the Countess de St. Marguerite, he was either a sincere though mistaken young man, or a man so immoral that his oath was not to be taken in a court of law, his position in society that of an undeclared outlaw. He may choose his horn!

*The Loves of Celestine and St. Aubert* is a foolish and erotic novel, in the style of the last century. Celestine is a young lady of "warm" temperament, but in case the reader should condemn her, he is apostrophised thus—

"Frown not thou cauting priest who under the cowl of sanctity wearest this world and this world's appetites, Celestine is among the blessed; yes, if suffering can expiate imprudence, or mercy's love forgive it, she is happy."

The "imprudence" alluded to is adultery: *Le mot est décent, je le retiens!* The reader is also warned:—

"If thou art a bigot, close the book; it may offend, and nothing can improve thee; it flatters no prejudice; it follows no tradition; it speaks the simple language of nature, and is addressed only to those who believe her dictates superior to those of man. Read it not, then, thou, who fanciest that what is old must of course be venerable, that what is established cannot be erroneous, or that self-applause should be conceded to worldly opinion. It may shake thy principles and will certainly offend them, for its first assumption is that superstition should give way to truth, and that neither power, nor age, nor prejudice can consecrate a custom naturally absurd. Far absent be the slave, the cynic, and the hypocrite; they can feel no sympathy with me: but come, thou child of nature, who canst participate in the joys, and pity the errors of thy species. Come, thou man of feeling, who wouldst rather soothe than sadden the misfortunes of life; thou mayst take some interest in the history of Celestine."

Might not Mr. Holyoake have quoted this when his oath was refused; what is that ceremony but "a superstition that should give way to truth"? and who so ready to acknowledge "that neither power, nor age, nor prejudice, can consecrate a custom naturally absurd"—for surely it is absurd to make a man take an oath that is not binding on his conscience, or else refuse his oath altogether?

Let us hear

#### CHARLES PHILLIPS ON ROUSSEAU.

"Rousseau has been much calumniated by those to whom the triumph of genius can never be acceptable. No doubt the panegyrist would be injudicious who should deny his failings, but he was such a man, that I would even mistrust my judgment when it attempted to condemn him. Superior minds should not be measured by the common standard; their enlarged principle must seem a paradox, their refined opinion, a prejudice, to inferior understandings. In such a case to attempt criticism is always a work of vanity and not unusually one of envy also. Perhaps it may excite derision, but I never yet saw a great man censured by a puritan that I did not the more admire him; yes, I loved him for his error as much as I respected him for his talent; because, while the one dazzled my view and darkened me with its splendour, the other told me the prodigy was human and cast a dignity on my species! Who would substitute an insipid regularity for the romantic wildness of nature! Who would the less admire the fiery meteor of heaven, because it rolled not in a path prescribed and regular! Rousseau was one of those whose very failings render him more sacred; a precious relic, whose very specks make it more estimable! Like some romantic mountain in his own lovely land, he was a beautiful disproportion. If his majestic elevation sometimes caught a passing vapour from the earth below, still, when its transient dimness vanished, it only left his view the more refined; his vision the nearer heaven. That such a man lived and died poor is perhaps one of the strongest arguments for the necessity of that revolution which afterwards humbled the worthless aristocracy of the land in which he was neglected."

Now let us hear

#### CHARLES PHILLIPS ON PAINE.

"Amongst these there was one whom I could not help viewing with peculiar admiration, because, by the sole powers of a surprising genius, he had surmounted the disadvantages of birth and the difficulties of fortune. It was the celebrated Thomas Paine, a man who, no matter what may be the difference of opinion as to his principles, must ever remain a proud example of mind unpatronised and unsupported, eclipsing the fictitious beams of rank and wealth and pedigree. I never saw him in his captivity, nor heard the revilings with which he has been since assailed, without cursing in my heart that ungenerous feeling which, cold to the necessities of genius, is clamorous in the publication of its defects."

"Ye great ones of his nation! ye pretended moralists! so forward now to cast your interested indignation upon the memory of Paine, where were you in the day of his adversity! which of you, to assist his infant merit, would diminish even the surplus of your debaucheries!—where was the fostering hand to train his mind to virtue! where the mitred charity!—the practical religion! Consistent declaimers! rail on:—what, though his genius was the gift of heaven—his heart the altar of friendship! what, though wit and eloquence flowed freely from his tongue, while conviction made his voice her messenger! what, though thrones trembled and prejudice fled and freedom came at his command!—he dared to question the creed which you, believing, contradicted, and to despise the rank which you, boasting of, debased!"

#### CHARLES PHILLIPS ON SUICIDE.

"God of benevolence! in giving me existence, didst thou intend the gift to be a curse unto thy creature! in giving me free will, didst thou intend it as my condemnation should I exert it to avert calamity! Away, away, thou slanderous and timid sophist—the great heathen sage, he who anticipated Christian virtue, might have avoided death, yet would not—the pure and spotless prophet be preceded

saw his disciple sink in suicide before him, without rebuke, without murmur, without interference!—and shall I believe thy coward blasphemy against such bright examples? Shall I, for the paltry hour of pitted misery thy trembling avarice would hoard, asperse the path antiquity has hallowed?—the path which sages trod and martyrs sought and heroes travelled?—the path made lucid by the track of piety and virtue! by the holy march of that illustrious crowd, Lucretia, Cato, Brutus, consecrated?—No, that act, the resource of the persecuted, tyrants may denounce, but cannot punish,—the act of the brave, those may slander who dare not perform. Let the posthumous vengeance of the monk display itself—though the earthly relic moulder not in monastic clay, the flowers, which bloom on its neglected grave, will not be the less lovely in the eye of heaven because they rise up from the brave man's resting-place without the culture of hypocrisy!

‘Those whose rites  
At nature's shrine with holy care are paid  
Daily and nightly: boughs of brightest green,  
And every fairest rose, god of the groves,  
The queen of flowers shall sweeter save for thee.’

I confess it—the weight of life was too heavy and I determined on its renunciation. From that moment I felt a sweet serenity: I thanked my God that I had never listened to the *canting tale of mercenary jugglers who had armed the return to his abode with terrors*. Life's journey done, death seemed to me only as a kind restorer to those departed friends who had already finished the oppressive pilgrimage, and were now at rest in heaven. 'Tis but a fancy; yet a fancy, surely, just as rational, as full of happiness to man and meek belief in heaven's benevolence, as any of the *complicated and fantastic theories which ingenuity has invented or bigotry would enforce*."

Jesus Christ, you observe, is only "a pure and spotless prophet," and he countenances suicide!

#### PLEADINGS IN FAVOUR OF ADULTERY.

"Alas, Celestine, are those the arguments with which you oppose my passion? Could you submit to the cold decision of prudential calculation, an ardour which is identified with my very existence, and which nothing but death can diminish? would you extinguish the celestial flame by the frigid maxims of earthly policy? would you bind love by reason, or calculate the degrees of passion according to the rules of arithmetic? It is impossible—you might as well try to freeze the lava, in its current, or to enchain the wings of the lightning!—You tell me you are married, and that the law forbids my passion! *Law forbid passion! human law restrain a celestial instinct!* Can it be, Celestine? ask your own soul, can it be? Do you feel the less because the law forbids it; can you repress or raise your ardour according to the modifications of the statute?—No, but you 'try to conquer, to conceal it.' What then? 'tis not the reality but the appearance at which this law aims—you may feel, provided you can hide the feeling: that is, God gives you a sentiment which man calls vice, and the law corrects it by the substitution of hypocrisy! that is, the *legislator first blasphemes heaven, and then consoles himself by deceiving man!* But, even according to its advocates, this law cannot destroy the vice—why? because it only governs appearance; but the scripture, on which it professes to be built, expressly tells you that vice consists not in act, but intention."

#### LIFE.

"You, philosophers of the world, who smile at this, tell me what is life but a vision? what are its certainties—what its consequence? Like the fantastic forms of the morning sun, we flit along the earth and vanish: the evening may not find us."

#### THE PORTRAIT OF A PRIEST.

"De l'Enfer was about that age at which men begin to forget everything except their interest; not that I would infer that this principle originated in him so much from years as instinct. *He was a stern religionist, and had as little pity for the woe as he had charity for the weakness of his species.* The man, who was vile enough to obey one single impulse of nature, deserved, in his opinion, neither respect nor toleration, and he was often heard to declare, ought to die without the rites of the church. His only exception was in favour of the rich. Sad was it for the unprotected child of sorrow who happened to solicit him. Ever ready to reprove, but never to relieve, the base pretence for his brutality usually was, that compassion for a sinner was an encouragement to sin! There was, however, something so ludicrous in his hypocrisy and so fascinating in him when he forgot it, that he was a prime favourite with my father. He had certainly a mind much above his station, for, though his deceit gave him some claim to the highest dignities in the church, his talents proved an insuperable bar to his preferment. For myself, I never liked the man, nor believed his professions, and, as for his ostentatious friendship for my father, I strongly suspected it originated in his wine-cellar. De l'Enfer had a kind of religious prejudice in favour of this liquor. Rousseau himself could not have accused him on the score of temperance. I know not whether he was most indebted to the strength of his head or the coldness of his heart, but he certainly never seemed intoxicated. There was something ludicrously profane in hearing him lecture, over his third bottle, on the heinousness of inebriety, for it was at the appropriate period of this indulgence that he was most zealous in his reprobation of sensuality. I own I was glad to catch the Abbé in his relaxation; it confirmed me in the suspicion of his hypocrisy, for, even in the slight elevation which the flush of indulgence occasioned, one could see, notwithstanding all his caution, an anxiety to impose upon others, for his interest, that which it was plain he did not feel himself from conviction. This wretch covered almost all his vices with the semblance of some virtue, at least all his virtues bore the appearance of vice, soured as they were by the natural acidity of his spirit. *He was vain through talent and intolerant through religion.* The intelligence which would have rendered others humble, made him haughty. *The Gospel, which its admirers call meek, was, in him, insolence.* His sacred calling he used but as an exemption from vulgar censure, and, for his own interest, he so hardened the *natural impracticability of the doctrine which he preached*, that poor men were almost terrified into infidelity: indeed, had he not held the omnipotence of the Pope and the heavenly patronage of the priesthood, neither the patience of Job nor the piety of David nor the perseverance of Paul could have obtained salvation! In all the externals of religion De l'Enfer was a most refined practitioner; a kind of polemical postmaster. There was not a saint in the calendar, for whom he had not some distinct grime, or a sanctified ruin in the neighbourhood, before which he did not make some peculiar reverence! To be sure, indeed, these singularities might occasionally be excused, as they were the only instances in which his piety was practical. Even these, however, he most unceremoniously dispensed with whenever they interfered with his most trifling gratification: thus his grace before

dinner was a brief contortion of his eye-balls, '*lest the meat should cool,*' and his subsequent devotion was, if possible, more laconic, '*lest the wine should heat.*' The only rival propensity, which this love for good living held, was a fervent admiration of money. Though the failing was *professional*, he was ashamed of it, and pretended to defend it on orthodox principles. He would say, he only took from his flock those superfluities of fortune which, if left in their hands, might be employed in the pursuits of vice, but, in his, might serve the purposes of religion; and thus the conclusion was that the fleeing which he gave them, had the double good of preventing sin and improving the church!

"Such was De l'Enfer, the almost constant inmate of my father's house and companion of his table. *A greater compound of pious craft and haughty humility the priesthood never nourished. A folio could say no more.*"

#### THE SOLDIER AND THE PRIEST.

"Such," said he, 'are ever the motives of a soldier, no matter how affected liberality may mask them. A fierce hyena, he riots mid the memorials of our nature's frailty, and fattens and enriches himself on the plunder of the grave.' St. Aubert, stung to the soul at the unjust reflection, retorted bitterly—'If the soldier pursues to the grave, he pauses there: his condemnation should not come from the hypocritical monk who sends his impious anathema beyond it.'

"De l'Enfer, in his rage, appealed for protection to my father, who, wishing to end the controversy in good humour, playfully replied, 'Not I, indeed, my good Abbé, I must preserve a laughing neutrality at the expense of both. You know, though a soldier myself, I have ever regretted the necessity of an army, and often told you that, in my mind, both the bishop and the general, though so different in their pursuits, found their common origin in the vices of the world. At all events, it is not policy in the priest to quarrel with the soldier, to whose pious efforts he is indebted for so many fees and so many converts.'"

#### A RETROSPECT.

"Far, far be it from me, my children," said the best of parents, 'to reprove a passion which I well know is neither vincible nor voluntary. There are some pretended moralists in life whom age has withered into a negative virtue; who are passive, because they are powerless, and are ever loud in their censure, because they are incapable of enjoyment. Let such men selfishly deny to others the pleasures of that season which they have passed themselves; I would as soon think of giving my defenceless infant to an hungry cannibal, as of making such men the model of my imitation. No, these grey hairs have not chilled the recollection of my youthful joys, and they shall not freeze me into a fretful and impotent austerity. Our life is but, at best, a fleeting year;—may the hand be blighted which would embitter its spring!"

#### THE MORALISTS.

"Oh, how I hate those mendicant moralists, who, like the ancient cynic, make their rags their merit, entrenching themselves in the intolerable and intolerant filthiness of their superstition! hypocrites, who, coiling themselves up in the little, cautious circle of a cowardly abstinence, misname their timidity, and call it virtue."

After reading these extracts from Mr. Phillips's work, we may appreciate the sincerity and the dignity with which he refused to hear Mr. Holyoake—refused to believe that a man holding Mr. Holyoake's opinions could possibly be a member of society or worthy of the protection of its laws. Perhaps it is superfluous to add any illustration to the character of the defender of Courvoisier; but we have thought it right to take this retrospective glance, and leave our readers to meditate upon it.

## The Arts.

### THE MISERIES OF A DRAMATIC CRITIC.

THERE are persons who in the *naïveté* of their hearts envy us dramatic critics the delight of constant attendance at the theatre; whatever that delight may be, I assure them M. Azais, who wrote a philosophic work on *compensations*, might have added a chapter setting forth the miseries which accompany that delight. I have touched on this before; but you shall judge, yourself, from the specimen now to be laid before you.

You, beloved reader, know very well what my intentions were—what my arrangements with certain vellum folios were. The fortnight before Christmas I had a right to reckon on; had I not? It was a period wherein I might calculate on laying in a store of *lead* for future lucubrations—enough to roof a house with! Well! The first thing I see in Monday morning's *Times* is that Charles Mathews, (may the gods—applaud him!) with his usual restlessness, brings out a new piece. Because he can't keep quiet on the stage, he insists we shall not be quiet in our study! I resolve not to go.

After all, a farce wont occupy much time, and the title,

#### A PHENOMENON IN A SMOCK-FROCK.

rather piques my coyness. So I go. Being a philosopher, I am hugely tickled with the subject of this piece, which is new on the stage.

Poor *Sowerberry* has a bad time of it in this lying, cheating age of veneer. No one tells the truth, no one acts the truth, no one cares for the truth. He is made miserable by lies, misanthropic by imposition. Truth, the great Nounenon, remains, like all Nounena, hidden, unperceived—guessed at, but unknown. It never realizes itself in the guise of a Phenomenon. "What is truth?" asked the unhappy Pilate; and would not wait for an answer. Why should he? Who likes to hear the truth? Do you, dear madam?—do you, eminent sir? No one does. "*Nous n'aimons pas les choses parcequ'elles sont vraies,*" said Nicole,—"mais nous les croyons vraies parceque nous les aimons,"—it is not because we love truth that we like to hear certain things said, but we call them true because we like them. And Plato says, . . . . . But no I'll not venture upon lead just now. It is enough for my present thesis that Truth is a Nounenon rarely phenomenized to the cognition of the senses (if you know what that means), and that when *Sowerberry* does cognise in his milkman the Somersetshire Phenomenon alluded to, he may be pardoned the extravagance of his joy. He meets with a man who speaks the truth—the harsh, blunt, unequivocal truth, unsoftened by any "consideration for the feelings" of those who hear it. He raises the Milkman into a Mentor. He pays him three pounds a week for seven



years, in order to hear the sweet accents of truth, and no sooner does he hear those sweet accents, than he comforts himself much in the way authors and actors do when they hear the truth from us critics.

I wont spoil sport by hinting all the troubles and perils into which the Truth leads poor *Sowerberry*. You know the fable of Jupiter and Semele, (by the way, an intelligent printer once sent that forth as Jupiter and Simile!) and have admired the moral. The "party" who desired the presence of a god became a burnt party for her pains! Charles Mathews is the Somersetshire Semele to Jupiter Frank Matthews, in this *Phenomenon in a Smock-frock*, a very amusing farce, very well adapted by William Brough from *Le Misanthrope et l'Auvergnat*, and amusingly played by Charles Mathews, whose dialect is perfect. If a fault is to be found with his performance, it is that he does not make his Milkman stolid enough; he seems to tell the truth more out of love of fun than simplicity. Frank Matthews entirely misses the character of *Sowerberry*; he makes it not misanthropical enough—on the contrary, he is rather jovial. But his terror was comical. There: that's the Truth. Is it pleasant?

Leaving the LYCEUM, I was free to go home to my folios, had it not been for

#### JULLIEN'S BAL MASQUÉ,

where I was expected to be, of course. I sighed, and submitted. It was not much to bear; and as I moved through the motley groups and moralized upon the scene, I am not sure that I thought my evening wasted. Very tasteful were the decorations, animated was the scene; and if the Ball was not a *bal de l'opéra*, it was a vast improvement upon the dreary masquerades which a few years ago were held out as an attraction to the British public. There were a few good costumes; and a few characters supported with spirit. For the most part, the costume-people looked like actors in a barn, personating *Kyounts* and *Villains*—dreary, discrepant objects! Clouds of sadness wafted across my mind from time to time, as I looked on at the hollow gaiety, and thought of the homes of those so loud; and besides the silent tragedy which the scene contained, there was one incident which struck me very forcibly. Although only a few yards from the spot, and although I saw a man on the ground, I cannot tell what the accident was, because I heard so many various accounts in the room; but enough for my present purpose that a man was lying dead or senseless a few yards from me, and was borne out of the house, all the while the dancing was at its height of animation in the other parts of the room; as I looked towards the man being carried out and towards Jullien directing the harmonious storm of his orchestra, while the unconscious revelry was going on within a few yards of death, the contrast recalled to me that splendid tragic scene in Ford's *Broken Heart*, where the dance is thrice interrupted by the news of death, but *Calantha*, repressing all signs of emotion, bids the dance continue:—

"*CALANTHA, PROPHILUS, EUPHRANEA, NEARCHUS, CROTON, CHRISTALLA, PHILEMA, and others.*

*Cal.* We miss our servant Ithocles, and Orgilus;  
On whom attend they?

*Crot.* My son, gracious princess,  
Whisper'd some new device, to which these revels  
Should be but usher: wherein, I conceive,  
Lord Ithocles and he himself are actors.

*Cal.* A fair excuse for absence: as for Bassanes,  
Delights to him are troublesome; Armostes  
Is with the King.

*Crot.* He is.

*Cal.* On to the dance:

(*To NEARCHUS.*)

Dear cousin, hand you the bride; the bridegroom must be  
Intrusted to my courtship: be not jealous,  
Euphranea; I shall scarcely prove a temptress.  
Fall to our dance.

*They Dance the first Change, during which ARMOSTES enters.*

*Arm.* The King your Father's dead.

*Cal.* To the other change.

*Arm.* Is it possible?

*They Dance again: BASSANES enters.*

*Bass.* O Madam,

Penthea, poor Penthea's starv'd.

*Cal.* Beshrew thee.—

Lead to the next.

*Bass.* Amusement dulls my senses.

*They Dance again: ORGILUS enters.*

*Org.* Brave Ithocles is murder'd, murder'd cruelly.

*Cal.* How dull this music sounds! Strike up more sprightly:  
Our footings are not active like our heart,  
Which treads the nimbler measure.

Sadness obtruding its pale face amidst the moving crowds of Mirth—Death present amidst revelry;—music, and lights, and laughter, and glittering dresses, and side by side of them, Pain, Ruin, silent, helpless Despair, or quiet Sorrow, seeking forgetfulness—is it not always so, if we could but read what is behind the Mask? Happily we cannot; there is a serene unconsciousness of all that is unexpressed which makes life endurable and endured.

On Tuesday I was to be alone. But *l'homme propose, les amis disposent*; and my illustrious Turkish friend, Sherbert Effendi, dragged me to the

#### ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

to hear papers read by Owen and Huxley. You must know that Sherbert Effendi is a profound zoologist (when I tell you that to him the discovery is due which settled the place of sharks amongst the *Marsupialia*, you will appreciate his merit!); and I could not resist his request. Good actions always meet their reward. I was rewarded. A paper, on the

Anatomy of the Kangaroo, by Professor Owen, was read; then one by Mr. Huxley, from whom science has so much to hope, on the Entozoa of the Zebra's liver; and one by Mr. Wallace, on the Monkey Tribes of the Amazon. You will not expect, from a man of my known frivolity, a circumstantial report of the *echinococcus* about which Mr. Huxley told us so many interesting facts. But I will express the result in a few words. He showed, in a manner irresistibly conclusive, that this entozoon which inhabits the liver is precisely the same animal as that which, when in the intestines, assumes the well-known form of the *tania*; and the result of his observations is to abolish four supposed genera! Sherbert Effendi, who believes in the Development hypothesis, nudged me wickedly as Mr. Huxley made this remark, and whispered, "If different conditions can so modify the egg of the *tania* that it becomes in the one case an *acepalocyst*, in another a *cysticercus*, in a third an *echinococcus*, what becomes of all the talk about fixity of species?" Whereupon I looked profound, and replied, "Ah!"—which could not compromise me. Certainly, when Mr. Huxley told us how Siebold gave puppies some of these *echinococci* in milk, and on opening the puppies a short time afterwards, found these entozoa had become *tania*, I did glance towards the Turkish philosopher with a "what-will-they-say-to-that" air.

After the papers were read, Mr. Mitchell, the admirable secretary to the Zoological Society, showed us his portfolio, and told us many amusing facts about our friends the Chimpanzees—one I will repeat. Many, if not most persons, feel uncomfortable at looking on those oranges and chimps; it is thought that the resemblance of the chim is "too close to be pleasant;" that feeling the chimpanzee seems to have for the monkeys—he will not look upon them, but turns away in disgust!

Having smoked a philosophic cigar with the Effendi, I came home, congratulating myself upon Wednesday, at any rate, being free for quiet study. What would M. Azais say on hearing that Wednesday had been chosen by the restless Charles Mathews for the production of a piece of his own, called

#### LITTLE TODDLEKINS!

That man is incorrigible! But I am bound to add that *Little Toddlekins* was so prodigiously amusing that "I would not have lost it for a wilderness of folios." Imagine Charles Mathews as a gay young widower of thirty, anxious to enter upon the state of matrimony (*what* is it that makes sane men anxious on that score?), but foiled in all his efforts by the disinclination felt on the part of romantic eighteen to become the mother of a "little toddlekins" of eight-and-forty, and Charles Mathews is the papa of such a "little toddlekins"—a souvenir of his departed angel! It is impossible for me to convey any notion of the broad, side-shaking extravagance, running over with fun, of this farce, which achieved the greatest success of any farce that has been produced for a very long while, and deserved its success by the bold extravagance of the situations, the incessant volleys of jokes, and the gaiety of the acting. I screamed at it, and so did all around me. There was a hitch now and then, owing to imperfect rehearsals or nervousness; but when a few nights have given it the necessary glibness, it will be a fortune to the theatre.

The original of this *Little Toddlekins* is *Les Suites d'un premier lit*, which Charles Mathews has adapted with a freedom and wit that makes another piece of it. A word of praise should be slipped in for Mrs. Frank Matthews, who played what is called an "ungrateful part" with heartiness, and for Baker, who was excellent in the old twaddling Babicombe.

Thus was Wednesday given up to Duty. When Fichte was eloquent on the "great Idea of Duty—*die grosse Idee der Pflicht*!" he had never been a dramatic Critic. I begin very much to suspect that Duty is . . . . Well, never mind, I have got Thursday for quiet philosophic repose. That is something.

Thursday comes, and lo! I leap from my chair as I read that "this evening" is the evening of

#### EDITH HERAUD'S DEBUT,

in the character of *Julia*, in the *Hunchback*, at the OLYMPIC. I can't resist that appeal. The daughter of a *confrère*—metaphysician, poet, and dramatic critic—has more than the already powerful claims on me, the claims, I mean, of her sex, and her position: as a woman, the interest of VIVIAN is inevitably secured; as a *débütante*, the peculiar interest attending all decisive episodes in the career of a human being outweighs, in my mind, a whole shelf of Christian Fathers. Who, for instance, can think of such a Letter as that awaiting me, by the majestic BASIL, addressed to ingenuous youth, upon the way in which the Greek writers should be studied with profit—*Προς τους νέους όπως αν εζε Ελληνικών ωφελούτο λογών* (there's a captivating title for you! what a "poster" it would make!)—who, I say, could think of this when a young woman was about to confront the terrible ordeal of a London public, to ask of us all, playgoers and critics—"Am I sufficiently advanced in my art to be worthy to practise it for your delight? I have studied, I have striven, I aim at the highest honours—tell me, have I won?" Terrible question! And Edith Heraud, in the happy confidence of youthful ambition, braves the answer. Let me then, in all kindness, and that impartiality which is the best of kindness, if people would but acknowledge it, (they won't!) try to answer that question as far as my verdict goes.

To say, then, in a few brief sentences what I think of her—she is still very young, and has directed her principal study to the mastery of one portion of her art—viz., that of recitation. Her voice is musical, although its range seems limited: within the limits she plays upon it as upon an instrument, with a certain skill, but also with a certain monotony; hence the general effect of her recitation is too much that of a song; it lacks the variety and the intervals of speech. But even suppose the whole varied resources of declamation at her command, there would remain the still more important elements of *representation*, i. e., the expression of individual character and emotion—and these she has yet to learn before her high ambition can be crowned. The history of an individual artist is always more or less the same as that of the Art itself; and Art begins with what is *general*, passing by regular gradations to what is *individual*. Thus, the Drama has set aside the Cothurnus, and the lofty declamation

which suited it, to become more and more familiar, individual, abounding in detail; so also has the Art of acting itself outgrown the sing-song monotony and conventional gesticulation of early tragedians, to manifest itself in the more accurate conception and representation of individual character. It has stepped from the stilts upon the carpet. It has lost something of its ideality to approach closer to reality. It is easy to apply these general principles to the young artist upon whom I am sitting in judgment, and to say that she is beginning her career very wisely, by trying to master that which is most general. She reads intelligently, carefully, often musically; she is so young, so courageous, so painstaking, that I have only to advise her to continue steadily practising her art, and she will reap the reward.

VIVIAN.

## WINTER EXHIBITION OF SKETCHES.

ART begins to bloom in London perennially, instead of coming in and going out again with the strawberries. Already, the Exhibition of Sketches has seen its third winter, and, as a sign of vigorous young life in this hardy annual, an offshoot appeared last year, at the gallery of Mr. Grundy, in Regent-street. The only fault we find with the present collection is, that so many of the "sketches" are in no sense sketches at all. When the plan of this exhibition was first laid down, it seemed a good thing that all who cared might study the artist's process from the beginning. Even those persons whose contemplation of perfect works is undisturbed by any care about the means or method taken to produce them, will, out of that very love and faith, observe with interest the working of artistic power at all stages of its action. It is a pity, therefore, that a collection of original studies for pictures should include so many examples that look more like engravers' copies from pictures—and pictures, too, which everybody has seen. Rossetti is one of the few contributors who have adhered to the very letter of the call for portfolio studies. His two principal sketches foretell pictures of extraordinary ambition. In one, Giotto is shown painting Dante; and the other is thus named: "Beatrice, meeting Dante at a Marriage Feast, denies him her salutation." Dante leans against the painted wall, and the ladies, among whom is Beatrice, seem to mock his confusion. Mr. W. Holman Hunt gives the original sketch for his "Valentine and Proteus," exhibited at the Royal Academy last year. It is in water-colours, if we remember rightly, is much smaller than the original picture, and is almost as daintily finished. Taking into account two facts, the labour which painters of Mr. Hunt's school usually bestow on their experimental designs, and the distinct specification in the catalogue, we refrain from expressing a doubt of this sketch's authenticity; but it is more difficult to treat Mr. Elmore's "Hotspur and the Pop" with the same consideration. There is one more subject-sketch, as we suppose it must be called, by Mr. Maddox Brown, who seems to have given up being Perugino. The picture was hung in the Octagon room this year, and was feebly named "Pretty baa-lambs." As in the preceding instances, the sketch is a miniature version of the picture, equally finished. It is a pretty meadow scene, the grass being, in colour and consistency, like boiled spinach, well beaten, and smoothly spread. The human figures and the lambs are like children's toys, modelled with unusual accuracy. Edward Armitage has a beautiful sketch of a little girl's head in profile, and a landscape study of twilight effect, with shadows in the

water, very hastily touched. G. A. Williams's "Old Mont," hardly more finished, is a bit of nature reclaiming the work of human hands. There is a fair number of landscape studies by the same Williams, and others of his prolific family, as well as by Lee, Stanfield, Boddington, Hulme, Richardson, and Paul Nafel, whose Guernsey sketch, with the stonebreakers' sheds, is true in every part. So may be justly said of Duncan's views on the Thames and Lea, and of his sketch at Yarmouth. The Callows, whether at sea or ashore, cannot get on without rust and dry-rot, but it is wonderful to see what they will do under the influence of these stimulants. They both make as good a figure here as at the Old Water Colour Gallery. Branwhite is rapidly thawing, and his wintry scenes are not his best this time. Next to one of them, Bennett, the New Society man, shines out through the airy spaces of his charming "Forest Scene." But Davidson's corn-fields are the brightest pieces of nature here, all the purple and gold in Vacher's Italian bay scenery notwithstanding. There are the names, also, of Linnell and John Martin, but nothing more of these painters worth mentioning. Hine replaces Dodgson (who is unaccountably absent), but Hine does not come fairly by his fog. In Dodgson's pictures there is an airy veil drawn over all; in these of Hine's, the objects, hard, flat, and edgy, are at the same time mealy and indistinct in themselves, not obscured by any medium. The scenes from *Macbeth*, by Cattermole, are somewhat too much in the spirit of an artist with whom, as an illustrator of fiction, Cattermole has been associated. Still they are remarkable drawings; and as drawings manifestly thrown off in the heat of invention, help considerably to sustain the character of the exhibition. Equally serviceable in the same way is the large, bold crayon study by the Russian artist, Ivons. Three human animals in a rude hut, playing dice, a pig emerging from under the table, and some drinking vessels at hand, make up the composition. The figures are admirably drawn, and are placed in strong relief by shadows from a side-light. The absence of lines is remarkable, the whole work being an eccentric species of cross-hatching, hardly to be distinguished from the work of a stump, though really the entire production of the crayon. The drawings by Carl Haag are very little short, in finish, of those he exhibits as complete pictures; a girl at her toilet makes one of his best. Absolon, Jenkins, and Oakley are, as painters of life, surpassed by Topham, and still more remarkably by William Hunt, in whom the sense of nature is always apparent. Whether he paints blackberries, plums, and birds'-nests, or the rustic face flushed by desire to gain these prizes, nature is always the first idea raised in the mind of the spectator. Absolon adventures a "new reading" of Mariana, and certainly the idea is ingenious; though, without the catalogue, there might be a difficulty in recognising Mariana in her bedgown. But there is life in the pretty, *distract*, school-girl face, and a natural grace of pose, very different from the swarming angularity of Kenny Meadows's women. Absolon's second study, "A Reverie," is a very poor affair. On the whole, we like best to meet him on a village green at holiday-time; for, like Hunt, he has a feeling for rustic beauty, though he will have it all grace, and flowered bodices, and ideal hayforks. One feels inclined to believe that he has read Herriek in a theatrical sense:—

"There's not a budding boy or girl this day,  
But is got up and gone to bring in May."

Q.

"BOOKS IN THE RUNNING" OMNIBUSES.—An omnibus has always appeared to me to be a perambulatory exhibition-room of the eccentricities of human nature. I know not any other sphere in which persons of all classes and all temperaments are so oddly collected together, and so immediately contrasted and confronted with each other. To watch merely the different methods of getting into the vehicle and taking their seats, adopted by different people, is to study no incomplete commentary on the infinitesimal varieties of human character—as various even as the varieties of the human face. Riding in an omnibus was always, to me, like reading for the first time an entertaining book.—COLLINS'S *Basil*.

## Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.  
BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.  
(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	223 1/2	223 1/2	223 1/2	223 1/2	223 1/2	223 1/2
3 per Cent. Red.	100 1/2	100 1/2	101	100 1/2	100 1/2	101
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	101 1/2	101 1/2	101 1/2	101 1/2	101 1/2	101 1/2
Consols, for opening	100 1/2	100 1/2	100 1/2	100 1/2	100 1/2	100 1/2
3 1/2 per Cent. An.	104	104 1/2	104 1/2	104	104	104
New 5 per Cent.	104	104 1/2	104 1/2	104	104	104
Long Ans., 1890	104	104 1/2	104 1/2	104	104	104
India Stock	104	104 1/2	104 1/2	104	104	104
Ditto Bonds, £1000	82	75	77	73	79	79
Ditto, under £1000	82	75	77	73	79	79
Ex. Bills, £1000	65 p	62 p	62 p	63 p	60 p	60 p
Ditto, £500	65 p	62 p	62 p	63 p	60 p	60 p
Ditto, Small	60 p	62 p	62 p	63 p	60 p	60 p

## FOREIGN FUNDS.

(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING  
FRIDAY EVENING.)

Austrian 5 per Cent.	84	Mexican 3 per Ct. Acct.	
Brazilian 5 per Cent.	103	December 38	24 1/2
Brazilian New 4 1/2 per Cts.	98 1/2	Peruvian 3 per Cent. Def.	6 1/2
Buenos Ayres 5 p. Cents.	75	Portuguese 4 per Cent.	40 1/2
Danish 3 per Cent., 1825	96 1/2	Russian, 1882	119 1/2
Dutch 2 1/2 per Cent.	68 1/2	Russian 4 1/2 per Cent.	105 1/2
Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	99 1/2	Spanish 3 p. Cents.	50 1/2
Ecuador	6 1/2	Spanish 3 p. Cts. New Def.	33 1/2
Granada Deferred	13 1/2	Turkish Loan, 6 per Cent.	
Mexican 3 per Cent.	24 1/2	1882	1 1/2 pm.

THE MARIONETTES at ST. JAMES'S.  
GREAT SUCCESS OF THE OPERA COMPANY.

Last Four Nights before the Holidays.  
On Monday next, December 20th, and three following days, a new characteristic address by Mr. Albany Brown, introducing a new piece de circonstance, entitled, *AN APPEAL TO THE AUDIENCE*. After which, by particular request, the burlesque operetta, *BOMBASTES FURIOSO*. To be followed by a Vocal and Instrumental Ethiopian Entertainment by the *EBONY MARIONETTES*. To conclude with the third act of Bellini's grand opera, *LA SONAMBULA*. Every evening at Eight.  
A Morning Performance on Wednesday, the 22nd, at Three, including *BOMBASTES FURIOSO*, the *EBONY MARIONETTES*, and *LA SONAMBULA*.

Doors open half an hour before each Performance. Private Boxes, £1 1s. and £1 11s. 6d.; Stalls, 4s.; Boxes, 3s.; Pit, 2s.; Amphitheatre, 1s. Box Office of the Theatre open Daily, from Eleven till Five.

**THE BEST MATTING AND MATS OF COCOA-NUT FIBRE.**—The Jury of Class XXVIII. Great Exhibition, awarded the Prize Medal to T. TRELOAR, at whose warehouse (42, Ludgate Hill) purchasers will find an assortment of Cocoa-Nut Fibre manufactures, unequalled for variety and excellence at the most moderate prices.  
Catalogues free by post. T. Treloar, Cocoa-Nut Fibre Manufacturer, 42, Ludgate Hill, London.

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"The saving of from 30 to 50 per cent. on each suit of clothes is a feature" which the practical genius of Englishmen will not fail to appreciate."

**THE** above quotation is taken from a work lately published on "The Various Systems, &c., of the Woollen Cloth Trade." The immediate reference of this extract is to the new system recently introduced at the London Cloth Establishment by EDMUND DUDDEN and Co., in which the writer shows that the customers of Messrs. Dudden and Co. save from 30 to 50 per cent. on their purchases by adopting the new system. The fine STOCK of the London Cloth Establishment is known as one of the best in the metropolis, from which any lengths, even the shortest, are sold at the wholesale price. But as an auxiliary to the cloth trade, cutters of superior talent are engaged, and purchasers of cloth, &c., may, if they wish, have it made on the premises at the charge of the WORKMEN'S WAGES, Messrs. Dudden and Co. guaranteeing not only the quality of the cloth, but also the fit and workmanship of every garment.

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Shareholders in this undertaking are referred to the *Leader* of the 27th November for a full report of the First General Meeting.

Persons desirous of becoming Subscribers can obtain a prospectus and full particulars upon application personal, or by post, to the Purser, at the offices of the Company, No. 3, Crown Court, Threadneedle Street, City.

## WORKING TAILORS' ASSOCIATION.

34, CASTLE-STREET EAST, OXFORD-STREET.  
WALTER COOPER, Manager.

As working-men organized for the management and execution of our own business, we appeal with great confidence to our fellow working-men for their hearty support. We ask that support in the plain words of plain men, without the usual shop-keeping tricks and falsehoods. We do so because we know that we offer an opportunity for the exercise of a sound economy, but we make our appeal more particularly because we believe that every honest artisan in supporting us will feel that he is performing a duty to the men of his class, which to overlook or neglect, would be a treason and a disgrace.

We ask for the support of working-men in full assurance that no better value can be given for money than that which we offer, and we desire success through that support, not solely that we may rescue ourselves from the wretchedness and slavery of the shop-system,—but more particularly that our fellow-workers of all trades, encouraged by our example, may, through the profitable results of self-management, place themselves and their children beyond the reach of poverty or crime.

Relying on the good faith of the people, we await patiently the result of this appeal.

The annexed List of Prices will show that in seeking the welfare of the Associates they make no monopoly profits.

**NOTICE.**—All work done on the premises. No Sunday labour is allowed. The books of account are open to every customer. Customers are invited to inspect the healthy and commodious workshops any week-day between the hours of Ten and Four.

## LIST OF PRICES FOR CASH ON DELIVERY:

Good West of England Cloth Frock Coats	from £3 5 0
Best superfine ditto, with silk-skirt linings	3 10 0
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Clerical and Professional Robes, Military and Naval Uniforms, Ladies' Riding Habits, Youths' and Boys' Suits made to order on the most reasonable terms. Gentlemen's own materials made up.

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Merchants, Captains, and the Trade supplied in any quantities on very favourable terms.

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Capital, £400,000, in 20,000 Shares of £20 each.  
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Under the approval and support of the following, amongst other Landowners and Gentlemen locally interested in the counties of Surrey, Hampshire, and Sussex:  
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The Mayor of Portsmouth.  
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The London and County Bank, Petersfield.  
The West Surrey Bank, Guildford and Godalming.

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Messrs. Roy, London.

### SECRETARY pro tem.

Alexander E. Lloyd, Esq.

OFFICES—37, Great George-street, Westminster.

### PROSPECTUS.

It is intended to construct a Railway between Godalming and Havant, 35 miles in length, to afford a more direct and a cheaper communication between London and Portsmouth, as well as Railway accommodation generally to the large extent of unopened country through which it will pass.

The deposit of plans and sections and all other necessary steps have been taken, with a view to an application for an Act of Incorporation during the present Session of Parliament.

The Line will commence at the end of the Godalming Branch of the South Western Railway, and will pass the towns of Godalming, Haslemere, and Petersfield, and generally following the route of the Direct Portsmouth Railway, as sanctioned by Parliament in 1846, to Havant, it will there unite with the Coast Line of the Brighton Company, and the Fareham extension Line of the South Western Company, and proceed thence directly to the town and harbour of Portsmouth.

The Landowners and others locally interested in the district have concurred in promoting this measure, and have, to the extent of nearly three-fourths of the length of the Line, signed agreements for the sale of their land at its mere agricultural value, and in several instances have agreed to take the Company's shares in payment.

The connection with the South Eastern Railway, near Godalming, will secure to the proposed Line the advantage of a second entrance into and exit from London, the one to the west end, and the other to the heart of the city, establishing by the same means also a direct communication, and with a great saving in distance, between the Metropolis, Woolwich, Chatham, Sheerness, Reigate, and the South Eastern Line generally, and Guildford, Portsmouth, and the Isle of Wight, as well as with all the interesting country.

The Line will effect all the objects contemplated by the Direct Portsmouth Act of 1846, but at the reduced cost of £400,000 now, instead of £1,500,000 then required.

It has been also further greatly improved by a late survey made under the directions of Messrs. Locke and Errington, by which it will not only be materially shortened, but three out of the four most serious and highly objectionable Tunnels in the former plans have been entirely got rid of in the present, and the fourth, near Petersfield, reduced to one-third its length.

To avoid all risk and uncertainty, however, on these essential points, the Promoters have entered into a Provisional Contract with perfectly responsible parties for the completion of the entire Line from Godalming to Havant, for the extremely moderate sum of £372,000, or £12,000 per mile, including the cost of Land, Rails, Stations, and all other necessities, excepting only

the Locomotive Plant: And further, the same parties have come under a formal and binding engagement to take a Lease, if required, of the Line when completed, for the first five years, at a net minimum rental of four per cent. per annum, with one-half of the profits beyond that amount.

Parliament having already, in 1846, sanctioned this Line now proposed to be constructed, its Promoters cannot believe that any serious or effective opposition can be again offered to it.

To sum up, it may be safely asserted that the Undertaking holds out advantages to Subscribers and the Public generally that have rarely yet been offered by any other Railway project: viz.

It will afford the most direct, and by far the cheapest, route between London and Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight, being the shorter by twenty-two miles than either of the two existing Lines, and being contracted for at £12,000 a mile, in lieu of about four times that amount expended on the Brighton and South Western Lines; it will have, through the South Eastern, from Godalming, a double entrance into London: from which it follows, almost as a matter of course, that it will command the entire traffic of the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth on terms that, while highly remunerative to its proprietors, must make competition on the part of its rivals hopeless, if not impossible. Further, the whole host of the entire works and material has been undertaken, by responsible Contractors, for a specific and fixed sum; thus freeing the calculations and estimates of the Engineers from all doubt and uncertainty. And, finally, the Shareholders will have the power of accepting or not, at their option, the offer of a lease of the Line when completed, for five years, at a minimum rate of 4 per cent. interest on their capital, with half the profits beyond, with the interim payment also of 4 per cent. interest on the deposit and calls during the construction of the Line.

In the event of the Act of Parliament not being obtained, the expenses will be limited to 4s. per Share, and the balance will be returned to the Shareholders.

Below are given the particulars of the lengths of the different Lines, together with the existing population and traffic, referred to.

London to Portsmouth by Brighton Railway	95 miles
" " by South Western	94
" " by proposed Godalming and Havant Line	73
" " by South Eastern via Godalming	81
Capital expended on South Western Railway	£3,614,514
" " on Brighton and South Coast	7,200,000
" " to be expended on proposed single Line from Godalming to Havant	400,000
Population of Portsmouth	70,000
" Isle of Wight	50,000
Existing Through Traffic from those two sources only, exclusive of all Local Traffic	£150,000 per annum.

The following is a Statement given by the Directors at the last meeting of the London and South Western Railway Company, of the comparative number of Passengers booked during the past half year at the principal Stations on their Line.

Dorchester	23,000
Salisbury	31,000
Portsmouth and Gosport	185,000
Southampton	126,000
Winchester	52,000
Basingstoke	34,000

Applications for the Company's Shares remaining undisposed of may be made to Messrs. Joshua Hutchinson and Son, Stock-brokers, 39, Leithbury, London; to the Solicitors, Messrs. H. and W. G. Roy, 4, Lothbury, and 37, Great George Street, London; or to Thomas Mellish, Esq., Godalming; G. J. Parson, Esq., Haslemere; Messrs. Mitchell and Minty, Petersfield; C. J. Longcroft, Esq., Havant; The London and Westminster Bank, London; The West Surrey Bank, Guildford and Godalming; The London and County Bank, Petersfield; and Messrs. Grant, Gillman, and Long, Bankers, Portsmouth; in the following form:—

### FORM OF APPLICATION FOR SHARES.

To the Directors of the Portsmouth Railway Company.

Gentlemen,—I request that you will allot to me Shares of £20 each, or such smaller number as you may think proper, in the above Company, and I undertake to accept such Shares, and to pay the Deposit thereon, and to execute the Subscribers' Agreement and Subscription Contract when required.

Dated this day of 1852.

Name .....  
Profession or Business .....  
Address .....  
Reference .....

Offices, 37, Great George Street,  
Westminster, Dec. 1852.

**THE ROYAL EXHIBITION.**—A valuable newly-invented, very small, powerful WAISTCOAT POCKET GLASS, the size of a walnut, to discern minute objects at a distance of from four to five miles, which is found to be invaluable to Yachtsmen, Sportsmen, Gentlemen, and Gamekeepers. Price 30s., sent free by TELESCOPE. A new and most important invention in Telescopes, possessing such extraordinary powers, that some, 34 inches, with an extra eye-piece, will show distinctly Jupiter's Moons, Saturn's Ring, and the Double Stars. They supersede every other kind, and are of all sizes, for the waistcoat pocket, Shooting, Military purposes, &c. Opera and Racecourse Glasses, with wonderful powers; a minute object can be clearly seen from ten to twelve miles distant. Invaluable, newly-invented Preserving Specimens; invisible and all kinds of Acoustic Instruments for relief of extreme Deafness.—Messrs. S. and B. SOLOMONS, Opticians and Astronomers, 39, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, opposite the York Hotel.

## BOARD OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND. CONSUMERS' PROTECTION AGENCY.

FENCHURCH CHAMBERS, 159, FENCHURCH STREET, CITY.

Objects of the Board of Supply and Demand:—  
To undertake the execution, on behalf of the public, of any orders for any articles of trade;

To secure the purity, quality, right price, prompt and safe delivery of articles ordered;

To establish and maintain, upon an extensive scale, warehouses for receiving and testing the articles for consumption;

To recommend to the clients of the Board the tradesmen, contractors, working men, and various persons whose services may be required;

To settle accounts and make payments on behalf of the customers or clients, &c. &c. &c.

Advantages secured to customers dealing with the Board:—

An easy, safe, inexpensive mode of transmitting their orders; All and every security, that the existing state of civilization, and the concentrated power of capital, labour, machinery, skill and experience can afford, as to the purity, quality, right price, prompt and safe delivery of the articles ordered;

An efficient responsibility in case of damage and defect;

Simplification of household accounts;

All articles charged according to a list of fixed prices, settled between the merchants and the Board: all such lists published and forwarded, from time to time.

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While preparing the more perfect organization of a BOARD OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND, the under-named firm is now ready to execute orders, to any amount not under £5, in one or various articles. The arrangements for the retail trade will be soon completed, but until then, orders under £5 must be declined.

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Business transacted under the firm of J. L. ST. ANDRÉ.

AGENTS WANTED. Applications from the country must be accompanied with unexceptionable references in London.

NO ORDERS EXECUTED ON SATURDAY.

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Mr. Henry Spicer. (Manager.)

Mr. S. Watkins Evans. (Secretary.)

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The degree of success that has attended similar Associations proves that there is very little speculation in the objects of this Company.

The following are among the advantages which this Company presents—

1st.—To have first-rate Horses and Carriages, the latter to be provided with improved Indicators, by which it will be at once seen the distance travelled.

2nd.—To abolish the Insult and Extortion now too prevalent, by employing men of known respectability of character, who will be provided with Livery Coats and Hats, and paid a regular weekly salary.

3rd.—To afford their Servants the opportunity of moral and religious instruction, by entirely abolishing all Sunday Work, thereby constituting this, what the Title imports—viz., a Six-Day Conveyance Company.

4th.—To bring the luxury of Cabriolet riding within the reach of all classes by reducing the Fares to (one half of the present legal charge) 4d. per mile, which, by the calculations subjoined, are clearly shown to be both possible and profitable.

The following statement is submitted to the Public for consideration. It is calculated that each £1000 will purchase 10 Cabs, 20 Horses, and Harness complete.

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Weekly Income derived (from each £1000 capital) each horse travelling 25 miles per diem, for 6 days, at 4d. per mile, 8s. 4d.	
20 horses at £3 6s. 8d. per diem or per week . . . . .	£50 0 0
Deduct Expenditure . . . . .	33 10 0
Gross Weekly Profit . . . . .	£16 10 0 or £858 per annum.
PAYMENTS.	
Keep for 20 Horses . . . . .	£13 0 0
Ten Drivers . . . . .	10 10 0
Duty on 10 Cabs . . . . .	5 0 0
Wear and tear . . . . .	5 0 0
	£33 10 0

After allowing a deduction of 25 per cent. from the above for expenses of Management, together with all miscellaneous and contingent outgoings, there will be left a profit of Sixty per Cent. per Annum.

Applications for Shares, &c., in the usual form, to be made to Mr. Evans, at the offices of the Company, 15, Duke Street, Adelphi.

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and LOAN COMPANY. Offices—49, Moorgate Street, London. Guarantee Fund, Fifty Thousand Pounds.

The OAK LIFE OFFICE undertakes all transactions involving the contingencies of human life, whether they relate to the Upper or Middle Classes, which are now almost peculiarly the objects of Life Assurance, or to those in a humbler sphere—the industrial Labourer, Mechanic, or Artisan.

The constitution of the Office is upon the Mutual Principle, and embraces Assurances upon Single or Joint Lives and Survivorships, Endowments, and the granting of Immediate or Deferred Annuities.

The attention of benevolent persons, and employers of every description, is invited to the Prospectus and Tables of the Industrial or Workmen's Branch of this Company.

Table showing the Monthly Contributions payable for the Assurance of any of the following Sums payable at Death.

Age next Birthday.	For £20.	For £30.	For £40.	For £50.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
10	0 0 7	0 0 11	0 1 3	0 1 6
12	0 0 8	0 0 11	0 1 3	0 1 7
15	0 0 8	0 1 0	0 1 4	0 1 8
18	0 0 9	0 1 1	0 1 5	0 1 9
20	0 0 9	0 1 1	0 1 6	0 1 10
22	0 0 10	0 1 2	0 1 7	0 1 11
25	0 0 10	0 1 3	0 1 8	0 2 1
26	0 0 10	0 1 4	0 1 9	0 2 2
28	0 0 11	0 1 4	0 1 10	0 2 3
30	0 1 0	0 1 5	0 1 11	0 2 5
32	0 1 0	0 1 6	0 2 0	0 2 6
35	0 1 1	0 1 8	0 2 2	0 2 9
37	0 1 2	0 1 9	0 2 4	0 3 1
40	0 1 3	0 1 11	0 2 6	0 3 2
42	0 1 4	0 2 0	0 2 8	0 3 4
45	0 1 6	0 2 3	0 2 11	0 3 8
46	0 1 6	0 2 3	0 3 1	0 3 10
48	0 1 8	0 2 5	0 3 3	0 4 1
50	0 1 9	0 2 7	0 3 6	0 4 4

EXAMPLE.—A person aged 21 may, by the small payment of 9d. per month, secure to his wife, children, or other relatives or nominees, the sum of £20 at his death, whenever that event may occur. The Premiums will be received by instalments at such of the Company's Agencies as may suit the convenience of the Assurers.

Prospectuses and Forms of Application may be had at the Company's Offices, and of the Agents throughout the Kingdom.

G. MANNERS COODE, Secretary.

N.B.—Agents required in all parts of the Kingdom.

## ARGUS LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY,

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Deputy-Chairman—WILLIAM LEAF, Esq.

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SURGEON—W. Coulson, Esq., 2, Frederick's Place, Old Jewry.

CONSULTING ACTUARY—Professor Hall, M.A., of King's College.

SOLICITOR—William Fisher, Esq., 19, Doughty Street.

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BONUS, OR PROFIT BRANCH.—Persons assuring on the Bonus System will be entitled, at the expiration of five years, and afterwards annually, to participate in 90 per cent. of the profits. The profit assigned to each Policy may be added to the sum assured, applied in reduction of the annual premium, or be paid in money.

NON-BONUS, OR LOW PREMIUM BRANCH.—The Tables on the non-participating principle afford peculiar advantages to the assured, not offered by any other office; for where the object is the least possible outlay, the payment of a certain sum is secured to the Policy-holder, on the death of the assured, at a reduced rate of premium.

PREMIUMS TO ASSURE £100.			WHOLE TERM.	
Age.	One Year.	Seven Years.	With Profits.	Without Profits.
20	£0 17 8	£0 19 1	£1 15 10	£1 11 10
30	1 1 3	1 2 7	2 5 5	2 0 7
40	1 5 0	1 6 9	3 0 7	2 14 10
50	1 14 1	1 19 10	4 6 8	4 0 11
60	3 2 4	3 17 0	6 12 9	6 0 10

One half of the "Whole Term" Premium may remain on credit for seven years, or one-third of the Premium may remain for life as a debt upon the Policy, at 5 per cent, or may be paid off at any time without notice.

Claims paid in one month after proofs have been approved.

Loans upon approved security.

The medical officers attend every day at Throgmorton Street, at a quarter before two o'clock.

E. BATES, Resident Director.

## CLERICAL, MEDICAL, AND GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

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The small share of Profit divisible in future among the Shareholders being now provided for, without intrenching on the amount made by the regular business, the ASSURED will hereafter derive all the benefits obtainable from a Mutual Office, with, at the same time, complete freedom from liability, secured by means of an ample Proprietary Capital—thus combining, in the same office, all the advantages of both systems.

FIVE BONUSES have been declared; at the last in January, 1852, the sum of £131,125 was added to the Policies, producing a Bonus varying with the different ages, from 24½ to 55 per cent. on the Premiums paid during the five years, or from £5 to £12 10s. per cent. on the sum assured. The next and future Bonuses may be either received in Cash, or applied at the option of the assured in any other way.

On Policies for the whole of Life, one half of the Annual Premiums for the first five years may remain on credit, and may either continue as a debt on the Policy, or may be paid off at any time.

CLAIMS paid thirty days after proof of death, and all Policies are Indisputable except in cases of fraud.

INVALID LIVES may be assured at rates proportioned to the increased risk.

The Assurance Fund already invested amounts to £850,000, and the Income exceeds £130,000 per annum. The Accounts and Balance Sheets are at all times open to the inspection of the Assured, or of any person who may desire to assure.

A copy of the last Report, with a Prospectus and forms of Proposal, can be obtained of any of the Society's agents, or will be forwarded free by addressing a line to

GEO. H. PINCKARD, Resident Secretary.

99, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, London.

## TO LIFE ASSURANCE AGENTS, AND OTHERS.—PARTIES acting as Agents in any life assurance company, in any part of England, may with advantage attach a Fire Branch to that of life, and thereby extend their field of operations. The Directors of the United Fire Insurance Association (an institution presenting new and important principles to the public) are ready to receive applications for Agencies, and to afford every facility to carry out such views. For terms, prospectuses, and all other information, please apply to

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4. Policies Paid within Fourteen Days after Proof of Death.

5. No charge for Policy Stamp.

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With upwards of Fourteen Hundred Shareholders.

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2nd.—For the relief of aged and distressed original proprietors, assured or not, their widows and orphans, together with 5 per cent. per annum on the capital originally invested by them.

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A liberal commission allowed to agents.

Annual premium for assuring £100, namely:—

Age—20 ... £1 10 0 | Age—40 ... £2 13 6

30 ... £1 19 6 | 50 ... £3 18 6

Prospectuses, with tables and fullest information, may be had at the Offices of the Company, or of any of their agents.

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Age 20 | 25 | 30 | 35 | 40 | 45 | 50 | 55

£1 15 8 | 1 18 0 | 2 1 6 | 2 6 10 | 2 14 9 | 3 5 9 | 4 17 11 | 5 11 11

Annual Premiums, payable for 21 years only, for £100, with whole profits.

Age 20 | 25 | 30 | 35 | 40 | 45 | 50

£2 7 10 | 2 10 8 | 2 14 6 | 2 19 8 | 3 6 4 | 5 14 0 | 7 2

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